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THE LAST YEARS
OF
SAINT PAUL

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THE LAST YEARS

OF

SAINT PAUL

By THE ABBÉ CONSTANT FOUARD

Translated with the Author's sanction and coopération

By GEORGE F. X. GRIFFITH

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PREFACE.

To me to live is Christ and to die is gain.

— *Philip. i. 21.*

THOSE missionary journeys of Saint Paul, which I endeavored to set forth in a preceding volume,¹ go to make up the longer term of his Apostolate (from 42 to 62). No more than five years of life were destined to be his after his arrival in Rome, while one half of this time he was to drag out in captivity. And yet, restricted in every respect though this closing of his ministry may seem, it is of an importance equal to, if not greater than, that of the longer period during which Paul evangelized Asia and Greece. His main object in the course of those seventeen years of mission-work had been to free the Christian communities which he was founding from the bondage of Judaism. On emerging from that struggle he finds that both his own views, as well as his sphere of action, have widened. Against the nascent shadows of heresy he must needs now uphold the pure light of the Incarnation; unto poor, dying Jerusalem he is destined to display Jesus, High Priest from everlasting unto everlasting, abolishing the ancient worship of Mosaic Law; to all he is to repeat the fact that this Divine Saviour perpetuates His life in the Church; finally he develops the Hierarchy, which was destined to maintain and regulate the functions of that mystical body of Christ.

Vast, indeed, from every point of view, was this labor, but Paul was not to be left alone to work out its accom-

¹ *St. Paul and His Missions*, Longmans, 1894.

plishment. The same Spirit which inspired him animated the other members of the Apostolic College as well, thus breathing into the hearts of one and all a like solicitude for their Churches. Of this we have plentiful testimony in the four letters addressed during this same period to the believers in Asia. Therein James and Jude, Peter especially, while combating with the same sectaries as did the Apostles of the Gentiles, will enable us to follow with keener appreciation the rise and development of the Gnostic heresies which were to harass Christianity for many a long day. We are bound to glean every slightest fact we can from these writings; for, together with the last Epistles of Saint Paul, they are the only sources available to the student of this period of the Church's infancy. In other words, I have had to content myself with constructing a history without historical facts, and, as a general rule, to limit myself to setting forth the meaning of the Apostles, in default of any knowledge of their acts.

Even these few documents would avail us nothing if we were to lend an ear to the voice of rationalistic criticism; for in the Holy Books I shall have to make use of there is little enough left that is authentic, were we to listen to its objections. It is true, indeed, that these critics have found themselves constrained, step by step, to order back their attacking lines and to acknowledge that the majority of their assaults have been triumphantly repulsed.¹ In short, we may assert, without unduly dwelling on this point, that to-day they accept the Epistles to the Philippians and to the Colossians, and even that addressed to the Ephesians. The short note written

¹ This tendency, all along the line, to accept opinions authorized by Catholic Tradition is particularly noticeable in two works which stand in great repute at the date of writing. One is that of Professor Harnack, chief of the new school in Berlin: *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius* (Leipzig, 1897); the other that of the illustrious Professor Blass of Halle: *Acta Apostolorum, Editio Philologica* (Göttingen, 1895). As to this peculiar right-about-face of rationalistic exegesis, consult: *Les Études des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus* (July, 1897), pp. 55-74, and *La Revue Biblique* (July, 1897), pp. 423-432.

to Philemon is very generally admitted. To assign the first Epistle of Saint Peter and that of Saint James to the time when I shall endeavor to show they were composed, — even this contention no longer seems to them so altogether devoid of probability. The only pieces of evidence adduced in this volume which the Rationalists agree in throwing out of court, are the Epistles to Timothy, to Titus, to the Hebrews, the Epistles of Saint Jude, and Saint Peter's second Letter. It does not enter into the scheme of this work to try to refute, one by one, their quibbles and subtleties. Our biblical manuals provide an ample armory for this irksome warfare of controversy.¹ There the student will find that we are amply sustained in our right to hold that these books are the work of the very Apostles to whom Tradition attributed them.²

The name of Saint Paul, once more made use of to adorn the titlepage of this work, makes it, as it were, the second volume of his life. It was fitting to set it in such strong relief; for, though the Apostle no longer stands before us alone in the labors of these his last years, still, as ever, he continues to play the principal part in word and in deed; above all, it is now, and only now, that he rises to that supreme height of virtue which was destined to set the seal of Heaven upon his sanctity.

We must bear in mind what was the origin of this Jewish Scribe who was felled to earth that day on the highway to Damascus; endowed with a noble heart, he was ever impetuous and rash, while always sensitive in the extreme. This alone would explain certain contradictory traits which we encounter during the first years of his ministry; we have beheld him then, when the

¹ Consult Cornely especially, *Introductio specialis in singulos Novi Testamenti libros*; Vigouroux and Bacuez, *Manuel Biblique*, vol. iv.

² In like manner I have taken no notice of certain recent theories which would have us believe that the majority of St. Paul's epistles show traces of numerous interpolations, and that some are really nothing more than mere compilations. The multiplicity of these hypotheses, which vary according to the caprice of each individual critic, is enough to prove that they have no solid foundations. The student will find them summarized in a work by Dr. Carl Clemen, *Die Einheitlichkeit der paulinischen Briefe* (Göttingen, 1894).

whole man was uplifted by his feelings of what was right and just, sweeping away every barrier, in order to pursue and defend the mission confided to him from on High; spurning John Mark; breaking with Barnabas; reproving Peter; like one who was, indeed, no "respector of persons." Yet again and we have seen this lofty enthusiasm fail him in hours of trial, in the crises of his bodily ills, in hours of loneliness and grief. Then Paul proves himself once more a man like the rest of us poor mortals, trembling, weeping, beseeching of God His pity and His grace. And yet, whatever may have been the emotions which shook that great heart of his, one passion alone dominated it, one only, his love for Jesus. That divine charity had so profoundly penetrated the very depths of his being that we have heard him defy life, death, earth, heaven, and hell to ever tear it from him.¹ By weaning him little by little from all other ties, this Love has made forgetfulness of self and self-renunciation to become in him as though they had been his natural virtues. And, assuredly, if there is any sacrifice repugnant to our instincts, it is to consecrate ourselves to some work, to put into it our whole soul, to witness its triumph, and then, instead of taking to ourselves the glory, abandon it all to the keeping of another.

The work before us aims to show how Jesus led His disciple to this pinnacle of self-conquest, and how Paul accomplished it. The Apostle had vanquished the Gentile world, creating in every land Churches and Episcopal Sees; not one of them did he retain as his own. He feels how that the Divine Master is moving him to merge his Apostolate into that of Peter; hearkening to this inspiration, he comes to Rome, to become a subordinate in the presence of the supreme pastor, and as such to die. When Paul bends his head beneath the sword of the executioner there is naught left that is human in him: the Heart of Jesus, once having taken possession of all his powers, has consumed all else, has sanctified and crowned all else.

¹ Romans viii. 35-39.

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LAST YEARS OF SAINT PAUL.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST IMPRISONMENT OF SAINT PAUL AT ROME.

I. THE ACTS OF PAUL, THE PRISONER.

PAUL entered Rome at a decisive moment in the reign of Nero ; it was just at the time when this Prince, shaking off the authority of Seneca and Burrhus, inaugurated his career of unbridled license. Steeped in vice to his marrow, it was from his mother he had inherited his blood-thirsty and brutal instincts, without, however, one trace of that savage dignity which enveloped Agrippina. In everything he was frivolous ; in his parade of ambition, his absurd pretensions in the realm of Art, his showman's tastes and manners. His soul, long trained to play such opposite parts, lent itself as easily to the accents of tragedy as it did to the vulgarities of the public booth. Agrippina had moulded him after her own image, and sealed him with her own seal, with this one end in view, that in his person she might rule.

Of what value was her son's virtue or honor, forsooth, to this ambitious queen ? She was but seeking another instrument of power ; and, in order to wield it more easily, she had checked or misdirected every righteous spring of action Nero might have possessed. As it seemed to her that at least some veneer of learning was requisite to soften the hues of the monster she was modelling, Burrhus and Seneca were given this thankless task. None worthier could have been found in Rome ; but de-

spite the masterful spirit of the former and the profound mind of the latter, these two Stoics vainly endeavored to infuse some of the sap of righteousness into a heart blasted from the cradle up; at most they could but instil some smattering of art and poetry. Happily, for several years they managed to maintain their ascendancy over this young decadent, at seventeen become master of the world, and they made use of it to inaugurate an equitable and pacific reign.

The five years of this régime were destined to remain famous, cherished above all others in the memory of his people;¹ and yet this peaceful lull in the midst of that century of violence was bought at the price of extraordinary tolerance on his tutors' part. Monstrous as were Nero's passions, they terrified his guardians far less than did the ferocity they found embedded in his soul. "Preserve him from the taste of blood," said Burrhus; "the wild beast within him, once awakened, will grow insatiable."² It is a policy often practised by those who desire to rule in the stead of others, to distract their thoughts from public affairs by the allurements of pleasure. It is one which has never produced aught but fearful failures in the end, since sooner or later debauchery hardens a man and impels him to crime. Very shortly Nero refused to confine his excesses to his palaces, or even to the streets of Rome; seizing the reins from the hands of his two masters, he rushed madly upon whomsoever he fancied to be an obstacle in his way, and felled each at a blow, — Britannicus first, then Agrippina herself. Seneca saw himself reduced to the shameful necessity of pleading excuses for a parricide, and Burrhus to some attempt to cover him with the mantle of his own good fame. Their authority was but weakened by these acts of forbearance; less and less respected daily, their yoke became irksome and they themselves fit subjects for disgrace.

Burrhus, whose long military power had rendered him

¹ "Uti merito Trajanus sæpius testaretur procul differre cunctos principes Neronis quinquennio." Aurelius Victor, *Cæs.* 15.

² Juvenal's Scolia, *Ad. Sat.* v. 109.

the more inflexible of the two, was the first to disappear.¹ His death, which many attributed to poison, left vacant one of the most important posts in Rome, the command of the Prætorian Guard. This office, ordinarily filled by two Prefects of equal authority, had been confided entirely to his charge. Nero hastened to divide its duties again, and parcelled them out to two of his own creatures. One, Sofonius Tigillinus, was an old-time tool and boon companion of his revels, — a clever mind, but bent on the pursuit of the worst forms of depravity, and without one generous spark of humanity. The other, Fenius Rufus, led a fairly decent life, which won him the respect of the masses, but was a man of no character. Nero need feel no fear about confiding to this pair the command of the troops which guarded Rome and his palaces.

These were the cohorts of picked men who watched over such as had appealed to the Emperor's tribunal.² The first duty of the Centurion Julius on their arrival was to hand over his prisoners to them. Traversing the city, he conducted the Apostle to the Prætorian camp, situated near the Via Nomentana. We do not know which of the two Prefects Paul was brought before, but there is reason to believe that it was Fenius Rufus; for Tigillinus was too absorbed in court intrigues to interest himself in the affairs of the Guard. All business pertaining to the Prætorium, accordingly, fell to his colleague. Paul was treated with perfect justice by him. The report of the Governor of Palestine, the details added by Julius, witness for the past seven months of his prisoner's virtues, his own attitude, — everything, indeed, declared that here was but another victim of Jewish fanaticism. Rufus gave orders that he be treated as humanely as the severity of the law allowed. Though subjected, as

¹ In March, 62, according to some writers, even earlier according to others, in the month of January or February of the same year. See Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 83, note 1. The rumor that Nero had ordered him to be poisoned at once spread abroad and found ready credence. Tacitus, *Annales*, xiv. 51; Suetonius, *Nero*, 35.

² Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, vol. ii., p. 933.

at Cæsarea, to continual surveillance, never going out unless chained to the legionary, who was always with him day and night, he was, nevertheless, left free to lodge wherever he saw fit.¹ For the first few days he accepted the hospitality of the Christians of Rome;² but soon, making use of the funds sent him from Philippi³ to regain his independence, he withdrew into lodgings hired at his own expense.⁴ We do not know whereabouts in Rome this dwelling-place of the Apostle was located;⁵ close by the Imperial Palace, according to some;⁶ in the midst of the Prætorian camp, according to others;⁷ at all events probably somewhere in the environs of this camp, in order to facilitate the services of his keepers.

For two years Paul awaited the judgment of Cæsar in this retreat. Long delays were not at all unusual in cases of appeal; the multitude of cases, the difficulty of collecting testimony at a great distance,⁸ a mere caprice on the part of the judges, always exposed the accused to such annoyance.⁹ It must be acknowledged, however, that, under the circumstances, such procrastination is rather surprising, since the Jews, who so bitterly hated the Apostle, had both the influence and the means of pushing it in Rome, which they lacked in Cæsarea. For a long time Herod's descendants, who had been detained and educated at the Imperial court for political reasons,¹⁰

¹ Acts xxviii. 16. It lay within the discretion of the Prefect of the Prætorium to decide, according to the rank of the prisoner and the gravity of the charges brought against him, whether his confinement should be more or less strict. Sometimes he allowed the accused party his liberty under bail; but, as a general rule, he kept him in the custody of his Prætorian Guards. See Daremberg, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, CUSTODIA.

² Εἰς τὴν ξενίαν, Acts xxviii. 23. Comp. Acts xxi. 16; Philem. 22.

³ Philip. iv. 15-18.

⁴ Εν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι. Acts xxviii. 30.

⁵ According to certain local traditions the Church of Santa Maria in Via Lata, on the Corso, marks the location of this building.

⁶ Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 403, note 3.

⁷ Lightfoot, *Philippians*, pp. 97 et seq.

⁸ Tacitus, *Annales*, xiii. 43, 52.

⁹ Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, pp. 407 et seq.

¹⁰ Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, xvii. i. 3; xviii. ii. 1, 3, vi. 1; *Bell. Jud.*, i. xxxviii. 4, etc.

had enjoyed the highest favor; this had been made patent to all by the privileges granted to the children of Israel by Caligula and Claudius. Even Nero, despite his disdain for any and every religion, showed himself far from indifferent to their good-will; one of the objects which was destined to absorb his attention toward the close of his life was Jerusalem, whose throne a prophecy had promised should be his.¹ But their most powerful instrument, and the one nearest to him, was his favorite, Poppæa, a member, like many other Roman ladies of the day, of their religion.² This woman, who, beside all other feminine gifts, possessed something that was almost worthy the name of virtue,³ just now reigned without a rival. Thanks to her, a deputation from the Sanhedrin, despatched to Rome to make complaint against the exactions of Agrippa, had but recently departed, having won their case.⁴ Had other emissaries urged her to take action against the Apostle, there would have been a speedy end of his mission and his life. God preserved Paul by turning the minds of the fanatics of Jerusalem into other channels, after his departure. Absorbed entirely in new domestic broils, not only did they fail to follow him on his journey Romewards, but they did not so much as take the precaution of warning their brethren of the capital against him. The following incident told us in the Acts gives striking testimony to this indifference, in strange contrast to their relentless persecutions at Jerusalem and Cæsarea.

Three days after his arrival, Paul desired, according to the rule he followed everywhere, to preach first to the children of Israel. Since his position as prisoner pre-

¹ Suetonius, *Nero*, 40.

² Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, xx. viii. 11; *Vita*, 3.

³ "Huic mulieri cuncta alia fuere præter honestum animum." Tacitus, *Annales*, xiii. 45.

⁴ Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, xx. viii. 11. The object of contention in this quarrel was a gallery erected by Agrippa on the very summit of Mt. Sion in the palace of the Asmonæans, whence he could look down into the Temple. The Jews succeeded in having it demolished, as they considered it both indiscreet and indecent that this prince should thus exercise surveillance over the sacred privacy of their Sanctuary.

vented him from going to them, he begged them to "beseech the principal personages among the Jews to come to him."¹ Note that by "principal personages" we are not to understand here the chiefs of a community embracing all the Jews of the capital, and forming as at Alexandria a body politic of the state; Rome, as we have seen elsewhere,² would never have tolerated within her walls such a derogation of the common law. These Jews, with whom the Apostle desired to confer, were probably but the foremost members of one of the synagogues of the town, either the best known or the one nearest the Prætorian camp. These notabilities came at the call of the captive, for although the children of Israel, ever since their return to Rome,³ had broken off all intercourse with the Christians,⁴ the name of Paul, so famous at Jerusalem and throughout all the Orient, could not have been unknown to them.

"My brethren," the Apostle began, "although I have committed nothing either against the people or against the customs of our fathers, I have been made a prisoner at Jerusalem, and delivered into the hands of the Romans. These, after they had examined me, desired to release me, because they did not consider me guilty of any crime worthy of death. The Jews being opposed to this, I have been constrained to appeal from them to Cæsar, without, however, any design of accusing in aught those of my nation. Such is the reason of my having called you hither, in order to see you and to speak with you, for 'tis for the Hope of Israel that I am bound with this chain."

"The Hope of Israel!" This was none else than the Messiah, pouring out upon the chosen people glory,

¹ Acts xxviii. 16, 17.

² *St. Peter and the First Years of Christianity*, chap. xiv., ST. PETER AND THE JEWS OF ROME.

³ The Jews, expelled from Rome by an edict of Claudius, managed to creep back again shortly, and were now as numerous as ever heretofore. *St. Peter and the First Years of Christianity*, chap. xiv., ST. PETER AND THE JEWS OF ROME.

⁴ Acts xxviii. 22.

wealth, happiness. By exhibiting himself as the victim of that dream of hope, Paul won their hearts and awakened within them the desire to hear him. The response of the Jews proves this by its cordial tone. Without waiting for the Apostle to explain the belief for which they beheld him there loaded with chains, of their own accord they desired him to acquaint them with it.

"We have not received any letter from Judea in thy regard," they said, "and none of our brethren has come here who has told us any harm of thee. We would very willingly have knowledge of thy thoughts; for concerning the sect (which thou preachest) all we know is that everywhere it is spoken against."¹

Here was an occasion for presenting to the Jews of Rome just such a complete exposition of the Glad Tidings as the Apostle had been wont to give in every city which he had visited. He was quick to grasp the opportunity. However, since his shackles and his keeper made it impossible for him to appear in the pulpit of the synagogue, it was agreed that they should meet there where he was; for the house was large enough to accommodate a considerable number of Jews on the day set. The Apostle preached to them "the Kingdom of God,"² declaring that it consisted, not in flesh, but in the spirit, and meeting their objections with proofs drawn from the one and only unimpeachable witness, the testimony of Holy Scripture, where, on every page, he showed them the supernatural reign of Christ described and foretold. This discussion lasted one whole day: "from the morning until the evening he sought to persuade them to the faith of Jesus, out of the Law of Moses, and out of the Prophets. Some believed the things which he said, others would not believe."³ One difference is to be noted, however; the uproar which these discussions invariably caused in the synagogues did not take place, for the Prætorian who guarded the Apostle kept them in check. Could

¹ Acts xxviii. 17-23.

² Ibid., 23.

³ Ibid., 23-24.

they forget that it was the riotous quarrellings in their own meetings,—aye, and concerning this same Christ Whom Paul was preaching,—that ten years ago had decided Claudius upon banishing them? After having most discreetly effected their return to Rome and far from anxious for a new term of exile, they now took good care not to draw down upon them anew the courtesies of the urban police; but without coming to any agreement, either among themselves or with the Apostles, silently they began to steal away.¹

Nothing so aroused Paul's indignation as such veiled opposition, so politely and ambiguously expressed. Detecting from the movement of the throng he was seeking to enlighten that the same scene he had been accustomed to in other Jewish circles was now repeating itself here in Rome, and that God's summons to His people was about to be disobeyed once more, he launched at those Israelites who were withdrawing, the anathema of their own great prophet:—

"Well, indeed, did the Holy Ghost, speaking to your fathers by the Prophet Isaiah, say to you, 'Go unto this people, and tell them, "Ye shall hear, and hearing ye shall not understand; ye shall see, and seeing ye shall not perceive." For the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed, for fear lest that they should see, and their ears hear, and their heart understand, and that, being converted, I might heal them.' Know, then, that this salvation of God is sent unto the Gentiles and they will receive it."²

This shaft, hurled so vigorously at them, completely routed the Jews. They made good their retreat, and once outside, began a lively dispute among themselves,³ but the rumor of their quarrels soon died out in the ghettos of the capital, without bearing other fruit than a few occasional conversions from the ranks of Israel.⁴

¹ Acts xxviii. 25.

² Ibid., 25–28.

³ Ibid., 29.

⁴ M. Sabatier (*L'Apôtre Paul*, p. 102) regards the community at Rome as a Jewish-Christian Church. Just the contrary opinion, according to

Far more fruitful was the seed sown in Gentile hearts. During the two years of his detention Paul took advantage of his permission to receive all such as came to him, "preaching the Kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ in all freedom, no man forbidding him."¹ And what additional power and persuasiveness the prisoner's garb must have lent to the Apostle's eloquence, with the soldier linked to his side and his manacled hands declaring still more clearly that "the Word is not to be bound." One of the first effects of his intrepidity was to reanimate the courage of the brethren who were wont to visit Paul's lodging. The faith of the Christian community of Rome was already well known all over the world,² but rather for its purity, doubtless, than for any other reason, since that zeal which alone bears fruit was lacking. It was this defect in them which the Apostle had sought to remedy some two years previously when he wrote from Corinth to these same believers: "Be not slothful in spirit, remembering that 't is the Lord you serve. Do good, not only in God's sight, but likewise in the sight of all men."³

These exhortations were repeated with all the more urgency, now that he could converse daily with them and show them, by his own example, with what proud hardihood the Christian should confess and propagate his faith. Even the weak-kneed straightened themselves up at the sound of his voice, and soon they too received from him this meed of praise: "The greater number of the brethren, waxing confident at sight of my bonds, are much more emboldened to announce the word of God without fear."⁴

His enthusiasm, thus communicated to the Church of Rome, drew along with it many more souls from the fact that Paul was not alone in encouraging it. The oldest

which converted Pagans were by far in the majority among them, is, it seems to me, much the more probable one. Consult P. Cornely (*Introductio*, § 145) and Hort (*Prolegomena to the Romans*) for the various arguments adduced.

¹ Acts xxviii. 30-31.

² Romans i. 8.

³ Ibid., xii. 11, 17

⁴ Philip. i. 14.

and most faithful of his assistants were about him: Timothy, best beloved of all;¹ Luke, his fellow-traveller and companion in shipwreck;² Tychicus of Asia;³ Aristarchus of Thessalonica;⁴ with others whom the Apostle names in terms of gratitude: Demas, who was soon to forsake him for the world, but at this date still was faithful;⁵ John Mark, disowned at Antioch, as evidencing small worthiness for the Apostolate, but whom we now find reinstated in the esteem and companionship of Paul.⁶ Beside these disciples most in evidence, we know the names of a goodly number of his friends to whom he had sent greetings in his letter to the Romans; for the majority, if not all of these, were still in the city: Aquila and Priscilla especially, Epenetus, Amplias, and Stachys, — all beloved friends, — Mary, “who had toiled so much for the Church;” his dear Persis; Tryphenus and Tryphosus, both alike zealous in the cause.⁷ This band of devoted spirits, their ardor inflamed by the Apostle’s example, spread the Gospel so actively that, when two years later Nero’s persecution burst upon them, the Christians of Rome formed a body of believers exceeding that of the Jews in number, — “a great multitude,” says Tacitus.⁷

To be sure, all the fruit gathered in this rich harvest was not of equal value: scattered amid the pure grain there sprung up tares and blighted seed; for the Roman Church, though drawn for the most part from the ranks of Paganism, contained its quota of Judaizers, bent on propagating their Observances. These latter, encouraged like the rest by Paul’s spirit, were eventually no less eager to preach the Gospel which they had forged. In vain did the Apostle seek to purify and enfranchise their faith. His anxiety to bring back these wandering ones only made them more headstrong in clinging to their errors and irritated them the more against him. This bitter-

¹ Philip. i. 1; ii. 19–23; Coloss. i. 1; Philem. 1.

² Coloss. iv. 14; Philem. 24.

³ Ephes. vi. 21; Coloss. iv. 7.

⁴ Coloss. iv. 10; Philem. 24.

⁵ Coloss. iv. 14; Philem. 24.

⁶ Coloss. iv. 10; Philem. 24.

⁷ Rom. xvi. 3–12.

⁸ Tacitus, *Annales*, xv. 44.

ness, nowhere more contagious than in religious quarrels, soon turned to sullen animosity. Soon they no longer preached the Christ out of sincere hearts, but from a spirit of contention and jealousy, in hopes of thwarting their adversary and wounding him mortally in his life's work.

"They lotted thereby," says the Apostle, "on making my chains the heavier."¹ They forgot that, in direct opposition to their narrow views, the true Church of Rome had recognized the pure Gospel in the teaching of this captive, and that in an irresistible outburst of "love"² she was publishing it all over the town. Most of all did they misconceive Paul's own heart, too generous, too superior to mean resentments to be even remotely affected by them. Indeed, in all their machinations, the Apostle saw only the fact that Jesus was being made known and beloved by the souls they were trying to win over to themselves. "Then what matters it to me," he cried, "whether their preaching is prompted by good faith or be but a pretence? Provided that the Christ be preached, I rejoice and shall rejoice always."³

This gladness filled Paul's heart for more reasons than one. First, there was the happiness so long looked forward to of being in Rome; then his good fortune in living there so generally respected, although in bonds, and really freer than ever before to proclaim the Glad Tidings, but most of all it was the joy of watching the rapid progress of the cause of Christ. In this spreading of the Word the Apostle took the leading part, owing to the number of visitors whom he converted, even among those Prætorian Guards who, each in turn, were deputed to act as his jailers. His teachings and the holiness of his life moved the hearts of more than one of these soldiers, and rendered their prisoner "renowned throughout the whole Prætorian camp."⁴

His Faith had its triumphs in still higher places; for he describes it to us as having found its way, even then,

¹ Philip. i. 15-17.

² Ἐξ ἀγάπης, Ibid., i. 16.

³ Philip. i. 18.

⁴ Philip. i. 13.

into the Imperial Residence. Who were they that carried it thither? Slaves, probably, or, at best, the freedmen of the palace. Had they embraced Christianity before Paul's coming, or did they receive it from him? This we do not know; but their presence at court cannot be contested; he himself makes express mention of it in his letter to the Philippians: "All the brethren salute you, but chiefly those that are of Cæsar's household."¹

Whatever be the truth concerning these Christians and their condition, living in such nearness to the rulers of the world, it is certain that this band of believers was not very numerous. At Rome, as everywhere else, the great mass of converts came from the common people, nay, even from the throngs of slaves. This class was not only the most active in the city, it was also the most open and receptive in regard of intellectual things; a number of the liberal professions, such as medicine, the teaching of literature and art, were then in the hands of freedmen. Nor need we be surprised if Christian beliefs and hopes made most conquests among them.

One weighty proof of this we find in the predominance of Greek in this earliest age of the Roman Church; for Greek was the common speech of the lower classes, in which the foreign element predominated. For almost two centuries everything in the Church is Greek: the names of Bishops and their disciples; the versions of the Scriptures; apologetical writings; hybrid inscriptions, wherein Greek letters and words are combined with Latin ones; even the liturgy itself, which, even to our day, has preserved traces of this first imprint.

Paul had not the same influence over Romans of high rank and noble family. There is no proof of any value which allows of our reckoning (as some have done) among those converted by the Apostle's words such personages as Actæa and Poppæa,² Nero's favorites; Narcissus³ and

¹ Philip. iv. 22.

² See Greppo, *Trois mémoires relatifs à l'histoire ecclésiastique*, pp. 41 et seq.; Wolf, *De præscript. Tertulliani Comment.*, p. 582; Baronius, *Ad. Ann.*, 59, ix.

³ Berkelius, *Præf. in Enchiridion Epictet.*; Selden, *Otia Theologica*, exercit. iii. 10.

Epaphroditus,¹ his freedmen; Seneca and the members of his family.² Paul, it is true, had had certain relations with the one last named. It will be remembered that at Corinth he appeared before Gallio, a brother of the philosopher; but from these purely official connections as well as from certain pages in which Seneca's thoughts recall the Gospel teachings in their tone, and at times even in expression, from this some have drawn the conclusion, much too rashly, as I think, that the Apostle had instructed him and made him his disciple. A volume of correspondence between the two has been forged to bolster up this hypothesis; but a mere glance through these letters will suffice to convince any one of their falsity.³ On the other hand, we have seen how widely the Stoics of Rome diverged from Christian teachings, not only in the fundamentals of doctrine, but in the moral consequences they drew therefrom.⁴ Seneca remained one of them to the end, and died, as he had lived, a Sage, but a Pagan Sage. His last act, according to Tacitus' account, was to order "a libation to Jupiter the Liberator."⁵

In default of any noble proselytes to be won over by him to Christianity, Paul found certain conquests made before his arrival among the Roman aristocracy. The reader has already made the acquaintance of the most illustrious of these, the only one, indeed, whose name belongs to this history, — Pomponia Græcina.⁶

Ever since the year 42 this patrician lady had led the same austere and retired life, the mystery of which had so teased the curiosity of the highest society in Rome. Doubtless they were used to seeing women of elevated station taking violent fancies for various foreign forms

¹ Greppo, *Trois mémoires*, pp. 61 *et seq.*

² Amédée Fleury, *St. Paul et Sénèque*; Aubertin, *Sénèque et St. Paul*; Lightfoot, *Philippians*, ST. PAUL AND SENECA, pp. 268–326.

³ Fleury, *St. Paul et Sénèque*, v. ii. pp. 255–347; Lightfoot, *Philippians*, pp. 327–331.

⁴ *St. Peter and the First Days of Christianity*, chap. xvii., THE STOICS OF THE EMPIRE.

⁵ Tacitus, *Annales*, xv. 64.

⁶ *St. Peter and the First Days of Christianity*, chap. xviii.

of worship and frequenting the superstitious rites of the East; but these were, after all, but the fashionable fads of devotion; their whims once satisfied, they were to be met again in the usual intercourse of society and at their domestic altars, just as formerly, and in no way differing from their contemporaries in their conduct of life. Precisely the contrary was true of Pomponia Græcina; she persisted in keeping aloof from Pagan society, never appeared in public save in mourning garb, and although accused by the town's talk of being addicted to "foreign superstitions," — that is to say, of being a Christian, — she was left free to lead this singular life. Her virtue placed her above suspicion by the decision of a family council; her husband's protection, even the isolation she had chosen of her own free will, finally won her the respect of all alike; according to Tacitus' expression, "her constancy turned all this to her own renown."¹

It is not likely that Pomponia Græcina could have practised her religion openly and in the highest circles of Roman aristocracy, without her example and words making some converts to the Faith. And yet we have no contemporary documents to give substantiality to this presumption; the monuments of Rome alone preserve the memory of certain other patricians who sought Christ during these early days. One of the oldest churches in the city bears the name of Saint Praxedis, to whom it was dedicated. Now this sanctuary, according to certain apochryphal, but very ancient accounts,² was erected on property belonging to the father of this Christian lady, — Pudens by name, — a personage whom we shall soon encounter again in Paul's company during the second imprisonment.³

Other witnesses (Acts of the Martyrs, Biographies of

¹ Tacitus, *Annales*, xiii. 32.

² The letters of Pastor to Timothy (*Act. Sanct. MARI*, v. iv p. 299); letter of Pius I. to Justus of Vienne (Baronius, *Annal.*, 166, i.), and a note appended in some MSS. of the *Liber Pontificalis* to the life of Pius I. (Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, v. i. pp. 132-133).

³ 2 Timothy iv. 21.

the Popes, Itineraries of the sixth and seventh centuries) allude to the tombs of these high-born believers as standing in a cemetery of Apostolic times, one to which a Christian matron called Priscilla had given her name. There, or so these documents tell us,¹ were the remains of "*Prudentiana and Praxedis, daughters of Pudens*," and near them "*Aquila and Priscilla*," the Jewish artisans whose dwelling on the Aventine was used as a meeting-place by the Christians.² Two facts of no less importance than these have been proved beyond doubt by recent excavations in Roman territory: one is, that the Cemetery of Priscilla was originally a place of burial occupied in common by the *Cornelii* and their kinsfolk the *Acilii*, and that the latter had Christian tombs therein;³ the other, that the site on the Aventine, where the house of Aquila and Priscilla stood, was on property belonging to the *Cornelii*. An inscription found on this spot actually bears the name of one *Pudens Cornelianus*.⁴ From these various bits of evidence, collated with all his wonted keenness, Signor de Rossi concludes, — and the overpowering weight of probability is on the side of his theory, — on the one hand, that some members of the *Gens Cornelia* (Pudens and his two daughters, with Prudentia and Praxedis, at least) had been converted to Christ within the days of the Apostles; on the other, that, as Aquila and Priscilla had built their dwelling upon the Aventine on property belonging to the *Cornelii*, and finally found their last resting-place in that family's burial-ground, they must have been dependents of these patricians, either as their freedmen or as their clients, ties which their common faith would but make

¹ Marucchi, *Le Memorie dei SS. Apostoli Pietro e Paolo*, Roma, 1894, p. 85.

² Rom. xvi. 3, 5. Concerning this mansion, which afterward became the Basilica of St. Prisca, consult de Rossi, *Bullettino di Archeolog. Christ.*, 1867, 5, 43-58; 1868, 35. Compare *St. Peter and the First Years of Christianity*, chap. xviii.

³ De Rossi, *Bullettino*, 1867, pp. 44 et seq.; 1888-1889, pp. 15-66, 103-133.

⁴ Marucchi, *Le Memorie dei SS. Apostoli Pietro e Paolo*, p. 84.

the more binding. We know what affectionate gratitude Paul cherished for Aquila and Priscilla;¹ through them he naturally came in contact with those patrician converts whose names have been handed down to us, and are still preserved by the dusty monuments of Rome.²

Whether we agree with these conclusions or not,³ at least there is no mention of Pudens and his family in the letters written by the Apostle in the period which we have to do with now. The disciples he most delights to mention are the fellow-laborers of olden days, Timothy, Luke, Aristarchus, Tychicus, Epaphras, and Mark, cousin of Barnabas. From them alone, probably, he received such assistance as was given him after his arrival, without looking for anything to the Church of Rome, which was not his domain, and without accepting from the wealthy members of this community any contributions, which in his eyes would have seemed to straiten the liberty of a minister of God.

The Almighty did not allow this condition of dependency, which weighed so heavily on the Apostle's noble heart, to last long. News travelled quickly along the great highways of the Empire. Hardly had he quitted Cæsarea in charge of the Centurion Julius, before the fact was bruited along the Mediterranean coasts. Anti-

¹ *St. Paul and His Missions*, chap. vii. § 1, and chap. ix.

² Although no mention is made of these two artisans in his letters written during the first imprisonment, there is good reason to believe that they had not left the capital since the time when St. Paul, in writing his Epistle to the Romans, sends them greeting (Rom. xvi. 3, 4). Their business must have prospered more in Rome than in Corinth or in Ephesus, since here we find them in possession of a house large enough to accommodate all the brotherhood.

³ I cannot omit all mention of these pious traditions of Christian Rome, especially since the learned researches of de Rossi and his school prove that they were based upon some foundation of truth. The few features which we have drawn from them here, out of a mass of testimony for the most part legendary and apocryphal, seem to me something more than mere conjectures; without attributing to them the same certitude we do to historical facts, it is highly fitting that we should examine them most respectfully. Ample and judicious criticism of these various questions in Christian archæology may be found in Marucchi, *Le Memorie dei SS. Apostoli Pietro e Paolo*, pp. 79-103.

och, Tarsus, Ephesus, Troas, and Philippi, were thrilled by it, especially the last named, on which Paul's peculiar position put most urgent obligations. Alone of all these Christian communities, it will be remembered, she had been already distinguished as having offered him help which had not been refused. Just now such assistance was becoming more necessary than ever, for the Apostle was about to enter a foreign land; and who could foretell the hardships of his imprisonment? The rich Lydia, with her sisters and brethren in the Faith, lost no time in raising a collection, and intrusted it to a disciple named Epaphroditus to carry it to Rome. This man was one of the best beloved members of the whole community,¹ that one of them who with Clement had toiled there for the salvation of souls.² Great was Paul's joy at the arrival of this messenger, so touching a proof that his dear Philippians had not forgotten him. Their offerings were superabundant, in harmony with the promptings of their hearts. The Apostle accepted all, for he was thus not only enabled to meet his living expenses for a long time, but it made it possible for him to hire lodgings for his own personal use, and thereby regain the feeling of perfect independence.³

II. THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

Epaphroditus did not content himself with merely delivering into Paul's hands the funds he had brought with him; he at once enrolled himself among the volunteers for the holy war of the Cross. His apostolate at Philippi had seasoned him; accordingly, while not forgetting his office of ministering to the prisoner's needs, he offered himself first and foremost as a comrade in arms and fellow-laborer.⁴ To this service he devoted himself with overmuch zeal. The fatigues of preaching and charitable works, perhaps too the climate of Rome, so

¹ Philip. ii. 25-29.

² Ibid., iv. 3.

³ Ibid., iv. 10-19.

⁴ Ibid., ii. 25, 30.

fatal to foreigners, soon threatened to extinguish his high hopes; he fell grievously sick and was lying at death's door, when "God had pity on him," says the Apostle; "and not only on him, but on me also, lest I should have sorrow upon sorrow."¹

Though out of danger, the attack left Epaphroditus nervously prostrated, with that uneasy feeling of agitation which is the usual sequel to Roman fevers. Tidings of his illness having reached Philippi, and the brethren of that Church having expressed a desire to see their messenger again, Epaphroditus hesitated no longer, but asked permission to leave. Paul yielded to his wishes,² without alluding to his own need of the aid tendered him by this disciple; for self-forgetfulness had become his second nature. Summoning Timothy, he dictated to him the words of thanks which Epaphroditus should carry back with him to the Philippians in return for their gifts. It was the first expression of his gratitude he had sent them from Rome, and he put his whole heart into it. This message, though it has not the dogmatic importance of the longer Epistles, has been preserved for us, and that most fortunately, because here, more than in any other of his letters, Paul's soul displays itself just as it was known to his friends in the ordinary course of daily life. The letters written to the Corinthians and Galatians show him to us, indeed, as he was, under the very fire of battle, and consequently aroused beyond his wont. Such a whirlwind of thoughts and feelings, mingled with depressions, fears, and loathings of life,³ were with him but passing transports of emotion. In like manner, in the Epistle to the Romans, the Apostle's views concerning the decadence of man strike us as severe indeed; because, all-absorbed as he was in the spectacle of so many sad failures, he dwells more insistently than ever on the corruption of human nature, its powerlessness to achieve salvation, its absolute dependence upon Grace. To conclude, however, from the

¹ Philip. ii. 27.

³ 1 Cor. ii. 3; 2 Cor. i. 8.

² Ibid., ii. 26-28.

striking relief in which he depicts these truths, that Paul's Christianity was but a gloomy and sorrowful Faith, — a foreshadowing of Calvinism, — would be to forget that the death of "the sinful flesh" ¹ is to him but the prelude to its resurrection; that, beyond and above this corrupt and corrupting body of ours, he never ceases to set forth Jesus living in whomsoever He has enfranchised. His Heart is beating within them, and from this source of eternal love, the Christian life gushes forth free and radiant, "in a peace which passeth all understanding." ²

The Apostle was not wanting in this superhuman calm. Although certain sources of man's purest delight, such as Nature and Art, seem to have been a sealed book to him; although the outer world was to him but a "dungheap;" ³ nevertheless, a joy as grave and austere as his genius never ceased to fill the very depths of his soul, — it was the secret of his noble contentedness if he could but triumph over the Law, over sin, over all that constituted "the old man;" ⁴ his certainty of eternal rewards, above all, the happiness of living no longer save in Jesus, and through Him of entering, even here on earth, into a share of the Life Divine. ⁵

This purified and supernatural gladness fills to overflowing the letter to the Philippians, and breaks forth at the very outset:—

"I thank my God every time that I remember you, and I never say a prayer that I do not pray also for you all, experiencing a great joy for that you have received the Gospel and have persevered in it from the first day until now. . . . I have you in my heart as being partakers, all of you, in the same graces as I, in my bonds, in the defence and confirmation of the Gospel. God is my witness with what tenderness I love you in the bowels of Jesus Christ; and this I beg of Him, that your charity may abound more and more in light and in all understanding, that so you may discern the things which are excellent, in order that you

¹ Rom. viii. 3.

² Philip. iv. 7.

³ Ibid., iii. 8.

⁴ Rom. v. 1, 5; vi. 6; vii. 9; viii. 2.

⁵ Ibid., vii. 10-26.

may remain pure, that you may walk without stumbling until the day of the Christ, and that for the glory and praise of God you may be filled with the fruits of Righteousness through Jesus Christ."

And how many reasons the Apostle had to adduce for his gladness! His imprisonment, far from hindering the spread of the Glad Tidings, had but aided and hastened the work; the same preachers, who were so inert and timid before his coming, had been emboldened to proclaim the Christ freely in Rome. All this enthusiasm was for him a source of joy, even down to the zeal of such envious souls as only published the Good News from a spirit of pique and rivalry. If but the Master be glorified thereby, what cared he? What mattered it to him, this being his lofty purpose, whether he lived or died, since in either case all was to work together to the Saviour's glory? For to live, to the Apostle's thinking, was to feel Jesus living within him; and to die was to "throw off the chains of the body, to be with Jesus" forevermore. Far preferable to him though such a final consummation might be, the fact remained that his words and deeds were necessary to them still. "I know," he declares, "I shall abide and continue with you all for the furtherance and joy of your Faith. Only see to it that you conduct yourselves in a manner worthy of the Gospel of Christ, so that whether I come and see you or be absent, I may hear that you stand firmly in one and the same spirit, contending together with the one same soul, for the Faith of the Gospel."

The Apostle thereupon utters gently the one word of reproach merited by the Church of Philippi. For certain reasons so trivial that no mention is made of them, their minds had been divided, and this division in intellectual questions had brought about one far more serious in spiritual things. Paul prized a real unity of feeling so highly that now, to restore it among his dear Philippians, he appeals to what was their noblest trait,—to their generosity and tenderness of heart, but especially to the

consolations they had already tasted in the Christian life, to the charms of brotherly love, to the happiness of feeling themselves united by the one same spirit, the Spirit of God.

"Make my joy perfect," he says to them, "by having the same thoughts, the same love, the same soul, only thinking the one same thing. Do naught from a mere spirit of partisanship or vainglory; but let each one in all humility account his neighbor above himself. Let each one look after, not merely his own personal interests, but those of others as well. Be ye of the self-same mind as was Christ Jesus: although he had the Form (the Nature)¹ of God, He did not account this equality with God as a usurpation.² He humbled Himself, taking the form of a slave, making Himself like unto men, to be regarded as a man, in so far as what appeared outwardly; He abased Himself, rendering Himself obedient unto death, and to the death of the Cross. This, then, is why God hath raised Him up and given Him a Name above all other names, that at the Name of Jesus every knee should bow in Heaven, on earth, and in Hell, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."³

While holding up to the Philippians both the lowliness of the Christ, as well as his glorification, as their example, Paul exhorts them to persevere in the Faith by abandoning themselves to God Who works in us to will and to do. Happy in their belief in Christ, happier still in suffering for Him, they are as torches amid the world of shadows round about them, wherein they shed the shining rays of that Word of Life which they bear within them.

¹ *Μορφή*, signifying, in the philosophical terminology of the Greeks, "form," that which makes a thing what it is; *μορφή Θεοῦ* would seem to be used here as synonymous with *φύσις, οὐσία Θεοῦ*, the Essence, the Divine Nature. Such is the interpretation of St. Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Athanasius, St. Basil, St. Augustine, St. Leo, and St. Thomas Aquinas. See Corluy, *Spicilegium Dogmatico-biblicum*, vol. ii. pp. 66-71; Lightfoot, *Philippians*, pp. 125-131.

² *Ἀρπαγμός*, literally, the booty, the prize, the glory which one would not relinquish at any price.

³ Philip. ii. 2-11.

Nay, he would go further and say that by the trials which they share with the Apostle, persecutions, imprisonments, and the rest, they too are become the sacrifice and the victims of their Faith.

“Were it needful for me,” Paul concludes, “to pour forth my blood on your oblation, to make your glory assured, I should joy thereat, and rejoice with you all. In like manner be ye also joyful and rejoice with me.”¹

But the hour had not struck as yet for so generous an act of self-immolation. Of this, as we have seen, the Apostle felt intimately assured. He hoped to visit Philippi shortly; meanwhile he promises to send Timothy thither, as soon as may be. This was the dearest of his disciples and the one most devoted to the Philippians; of this the latter were well aware, for they had watched him during his labors among them, “one with Paul, in mind and heart,” serving him in the preaching of the Gospel, “as a son serves his father.”²

The Apostle’s first intention was to intrust Epaphroditus with merely a short missive,—a note of warm thanks to his dear Philippians. In closing it, therefore, he reverts to the joyous wishes and hopes with which he had begun his Epistle,³ when, interrupted by some incident, he finds himself constrained to put off its conclusion to some other time. In the interval, according to all appearances, he must have received tidings from Macedonia that certain Judaizers had started out from that country. Though as yet not in the very midst of the Philippians, these sectaries threatened to spread disorder among them; while, on the other hand, he was fearful lest, out of pure opposition to their rigorism, those of his flock who were inclined to laxity might be moved to excesses to which they would fall an easy prey. These diverse apprehensions took such entire possession of the Apostle that upon recalling Timothy, in order to dictate the closing lines of his message, without wasting a thought

¹ Philip. ii. 12-18.

² Ibid., ii. 19, 20, 22.

³ Ibid., iii. i.

on the joyous expressions of the first part of the letter and with no attempt to make what he was about to say harmonize with it, he gives forth a cry of alarm quite similar to the one he had uttered when the Galatians were threatened with a like danger.

“Beware of the Dogs, of the Evil Workmen, and of the Concision.¹ We are the truly circumcised, we who serve God in spirit, whose boasting is in Christ Jesus, and whose confidence is not in the flesh. Albeit, did I desire to place my trust in the flesh and rely upon it, I too might do so, more than any one whomsoever! I, who was circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew and the son of a Hebrew. Is it a question of the Law? I am a Pharisee! Of zeal for Judaism? I have persecuted the Church! Of legal righteousness? In that respect I am unblameable. Yet, when I look upon the Christ, all these advantages I consider as of less account. I will go further—it seems to me but a loss, a hindrance, since what time I perceived how transcendent is the knowledge of Christ Jesus, my Lord. For love of Him I have lost all things, counting everything but as dung, that I may gain the Christ, and be found in Him; not having my own righteousness, that which is of the Law, but the righteousness which is born of faith in the Christ, the righteousness which proceedeth from God through Faith. My will is to know Him, Him (the Christ) and the power of His resurrection and the fellowship of His sufferings, to share the likeness of His death, if by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead. Not indeed that I have already received the prize which I hope for, but I press onward, struggling to reach the goal which the Christ set before me when He laid hold on me. No, brethren, I do not think that I have as yet attained that goal, whitherward I strive; my only longing is to forget what lies behind me and evermore to reach forth to those things which are before. I press onward straight toward

¹ Βλέπετε τὴν κατατομήν· ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐσμεν ἡ περιτομή. Their circumcision, performed without any need of faith, is nothing less than a profitless mutilation. “Circumcisio quidem arte fit ad rem purgandam et expoliendam; concisio vero temere et cum destructione rei.” Estius, *in loco*

the mark, to the heavenly calling whither God has called us in Christ Jesus.”¹

It was for the benefit of but a few of the faithful that Paul saw fit to dwell at length on the necessity of reviving a true fervor of spirit; for, in general, the Philippians, “steadfast in the Lord,” were still worthy of their Apostle, and still “his dearest and well beloved brethren, his joy and his crown.”² All the deeper was his grief on realizing that this Church, so richly endowed, should be disfigured by any evil features whatsoever. He gives utterance to his sorrow in this touching reproach:—

“There be many, of whom I have oftentimes told you, and now tell you again with tears, who walk as enemies of the Cross of Christ, whose end is perdition, whose God is their belly, whose glory is in their shame, who have no thought for aught save earthly things. As for us, we are already citizens of Heaven, and ’t is there that we await the Saviour, Our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall transform our body, vile though it be, that it may be fashioned like unto His glorious body, by virtue of that power whereby He is able even to subdue all things unto Himself.”³

In the closing lines of this letter Paul returns anew to the divisions which were troubling the peace of the Philippians. Women, as we have seen,⁴ possessed unusual influence in Macedonia, and in these quarrels, more boisterous than of serious import apparently, they took the leading part; two of them especially, Evhodia and Syntache, had been most headstrong. Notwithstanding this, the Apostle still held these Christian women in grateful remembrance, for they had been among the first to embrace the Faith, thereafter zealously aiding him in his ministry;⁵ he was not content with merely preaching unity to them, he urged this labor of peace-making upon all his fellow-workers in the Apostolate at Philippi,—

¹ Philip. iii. 2-14.

³ Ibid., iii. 18-21.

² Ibid., iv. 1.

⁴ *St. Paul and His Missions*, chap. v., § 1.

⁵ Philip. iv. 2, 3.

upon Epaphroditus, the bearer of this letter, on Clement,¹ and on a number of others whose names are "written in the Book of Life." In one word Paul sums up what was needful to restore peace and joy to their hearts, — "moderation," moderation in all personal claims and ambitions, — self-forgetfulness and forbearance, even when one's own rights were concerned; all this at the dictates of charity, devotedness, and self-sacrifice.

"Whatsoever is true," he adds, "whatsoever is venerable, just, pure, endearing, and of good report, — if there be any virtue or praiseworthy design, — let these fill your thoughts, and the God of peace shall be with you."

In closing, Paul repeats his expressions of gratitude to the Philippian, but without concealing the fact that he had suspected them of having forgotten him. Whereupon, with charming tact, he hastens to add, "But doubtless it was opportunity and not memory, that failed you." The arrival of Epaphroditus, however, had dissipated the last cloud of misunderstanding. Of this he warmly assures them:—

"I rejoiced in the Lord greatly when I found that now, after so long a time, your friendship for me was blossoming anew. You have thought of me, you were thinking of me undoubtedly, but the opportunity of proving it was lacking. It is not my needs that prompt me to speak thus, for I have learned to be content with whatsoever I have. I know

¹ Is the Clement mentioned here that Bishop of Rome, third successor of St. Peter, whose letter addressed to the Corinthians has come down to us? Ancient writers believe that it was, following the lead and probably on the authority of Origen (*In Joann.*, i. 29; Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iii. 4; St. Epiphanius, *Adv. Hæres.* xxvii. 6; St. Jerome, *De Vir. Illust.*, 15 *Adv. Jovin.* i. 11). Nevertheless, there have been some very serious objections raised against this identification. The Clement alluded to in the epistle of St. Paul belongs to the Church of Philippi, the author of the Epistle to the Corinthians to that of Rome. There is nothing to indicate that before becoming Bishop of the city the latter had lived in any other Christian community. Furthermore, the primitive traditions speak of him as a disciple, not of St. Paul, but of St. Peter. (Tertullian, *De Præscript.*, Origen, *Philoc.*, 22, etc.) Is it not most natural to suppose that, as the name Clement was so very common at this epoch, Origen and the later writers have confounded two distinct personages? (See Lightfoot, *Philippians*, pp. 166 *et seq.*)

how to bear poverty and I know how to bear a superfluity. Having tasted all, I am instructed in all, whether it be in abundance or in privation. I can do all things through Him that strengtheneth me. Nevertheless you have done well in helping me in my afflictions. For you know, Philippians, that, at the beginning of my preaching among you, after I had left Macedonia, no other Church had made me a partaker of its goods, and I have received nothing save from you alone. Twice, when at Thessalonica, you sent me somewhat to minister to my needs. Not that I seek your gifts, but I do desire the abundant fruits which you shall reap therefrom. Now, however, I am amply provided for, —yes, and in abundance. I am loaded down with favors, after having received from Epaphroditus what you sent me. It is an odor of goodly sweetness, an acceptable sacrifice to God and well pleasing to Him; and my God shall fully supply all your needs according to His riches, gloriously, in Christ Jesus. Now to Our God and Father be the glory unto the ages of ages. Amen.”¹

Justly proud of such a token of gratitude, the Philippians made its contents known to such of Paul’s Churches as were within their reach; and although it contained no exposition of doctrine to be compared with the teachings of the greater Epistles, none the less did each one of these congregations treasure this letter most devoutly; for in it they recognized anew the traits of their Apostle, the same charm of nobility and generosity which had won their hearts of old; just as formerly, Paul displays that jealous vigilance in preserving his independence, and yet so far confides in their friendship as to accept, and rely upon, their generous aid; careful to ennoble his expressions of obligation by the courtesy and dignity of his gratefulness, yet still more anxious to divest his soul of any personal feelings, self-seeking, and egoism. Renunciation, a joyous self-forgetfulness for the sake of the brethren and for Jesus’ sake, — this is the virtue he would fain impress and exalt by means of this Epistle. To this, it would seem, Paul seeks to reduce the whole lesson of

¹ Philip. iv. 10-20.

Christianity ; and rightly, too, since, as the Christ had gone so far in His love for mankind as to annihilate Himself and die for us, so His Heart which beats within that of every believing soul must evermore aspire toward the same acts of self-sacrifice, the same Christlike Charity. To use the very words of the Apostle, the true Christian can no longer live nor “love save in the Heart of Jesus.”

¹ Philip. i. 8.

CHAPTER II.

SAINT JAMES OF JERUSALEM.

PAUL never bade farewell to any one of his Churches without a haunting fear of some new trial awaiting them ; dissensions within the body, or some lapses either in doctrine or in the conduct of life. Better than any one else, indeed, he realized that, with many of the converts, baptism had not entirely effaced the stigmata of sin, but that deep down in their hearts there still nestled a secret attachment to certain dangerous errors. One reassuring fact, however, was the facility with which these seeds of corruption were generally rooted out,—a few words from him, a letter, or a rumor of his approaching arrival generally sufficed. But now that he was a prisoner, what manner of harvest would be reaped from the fields bereft of the master, with these foul weeds free to spread and thrive? This was the cause of his gravest anxieties while in his prison cell at Cæsarea. Doubtless, during these two years, he still managed, by means of messages and the mission work of his disciples, to keep the disorder within certain bounds ; but where that was impossible the old spirit sprang to life again, to the great peril of souls. A letter written by James toward the close of this period of captivity leaves no doubt on this point. It shows us clearly that, in the Churches scattered among Pagan lands, those Christians who were of Jewish origin were everywhere pushing their propaganda and dealing deadly blows to the pure and undefiled teaching of the Gospel.

The end and aim of these unworthy neophytes was not, as was that of the Judaizers at Jerusalem, to model the new faith upon Mosaism ; indeed they seem, from their intercourse with Gentiles, to have grown indifferent to

such irksome Observances ; but far from seeking a substitute for these in the ideal of Christian perfection, they sought by one stroke to weaken all morality in the conduct of life. The rebuke James addresses to them in his Epistle shows to what depths they had descended, even to reëchoing the most impudent of the Pharisaical doctrines, that one which reduced the sum total of righteousness to a belief in the God of Circumcision : "The man who holds this faith," they said, "may sin with impunity. God does not impute it to him as a crime."¹ We know how indignantly Jesus had branded such hypocrites, likening them to those whited sepulchres which, though from without fair to behold, within hold naught but "contagion, rottenness, and dead men's bones."²

Despite these anathemas, this outward show of righteousness so natural to the Jews continued to be a snare for those among them who had not given themselves to the Christ out of a full heart. The justification which Paul preached, a justification springing from faith, not works, became a stumbling-block to these Christians of base alloy ; they regarded it as his authorization and approval of that depravity of morals which they yearned for ; to them this was simply the easiest way imaginable of making a display of honor and virtue without the sacrifice of a single one of their vices.

In this and nothing else, or so they would have the

¹ According to St. Justin's testimony, this was the teaching of very many Hellenic Jews : "Vosmetipsos decipitis, et alii quidam vobis hac in re similes, qui dicant, etiam si peccatores sint, Deum tamen, modo eum cognoscant, non imputaturum illis peccatum." (*Dialog. cum Triph.*, 141.) The arguments of those false Christians whom James had in mind were of the same sort. Upon hearing Paul proclaim that man is justified by Faith without the works of the Law, they jumped at the conclusion that it was sufficient to believe in the Messiah and His coming, in order to be saved ; and that, thereafter, they might break the whole Law, even its moral precepts : "Quoniam ergo hæc opinio tunc fuerat exorta, aliæ apostolicæ epistolæ Petri, Johannis, Jacobi, Judæ contra eam maxime dirigunt intentionem, ut vehementer astruant fidem sine operibus non prodesse ; sicut etiam ipse Paulus, non qualem libet fidem, qua in Deum creditur, sed eam salubrem planeque evangelicam, definivit, cujus opera ex dilectione procedunt." (St. Augustine, *De Fid. et Oper.*, 21.)

² Matt. xxiii. 27.

brethren believe, consisted the special revelation granted to the Apostle, — this was that “freedom from the bondage of the Law” he inculcated so zealously; of that death to sin which is presupposed by this “liberty of the children of God,”¹ of the soul’s complete regeneration and the fruits of righteousness which result therefrom, — of these they made not the slightest mention.

Paul had discerned this tendency, in the depths of the Jewish soul, to travesty his teachings, and it was for this reason that, in his letter to the Romans, he made no distinctions, but launched his bitter invective against his whole race: “You that bear the Jewish name, repose securely upon the Law, and boast of God’s favors, . . . you pride yourselves on being leaders of the blind, a light to those that are in darkness, instructors of the ignorant, teachers of the simple and the young, possessing in the Law the rule of knowledge and of truth. And notwithstanding you teach others, you do not teach yourselves. You, who preach that a man ought not to steal, steal yourselves; you, who say that a man should not commit adultery, commit adultery yourselves; you, who boast in the Law, dishonor God by breaking the Law. It is because of you, as saith the Scripture that the name of God is blasphemed among the nations.”²

It is easy to imagine the confusion of the Judaizers in the presence of one who, with such a vigorous hand, tore away their masks; easy, too, to imagine the fresh outbreaks of audacity so soon as they realized that they were rid of this overmastering spirit. Hardly had the Apostle disappeared from among them before the seeds of immorality began to bud forth more plentifully than ever; in every Christian congregation where the Jews were in any force, the believers in Paul’s Gospel were saddened and distressed by hearing this shameless doctrine of “Faith without Works” preached from the housetops.

Infecting as it did in an especial manner those

¹ Rom. viii. 21.

² Ibid., ii. 17-24.

Churches founded by the Apostle of the Gentiles, this corruption of doctrine seems scarcely to have excited the alarm of the Twelve, who were dispersed in other regions. The only one among them who was led to suspect its venomous nature was James of Jerusalem; for the yearly pilgrimages brought him in touch with large numbers of Judaizers from Asia Minor and Greece. He was in a position to note, therefore, what dangers threatened the Gospel, and was the more moved thereby since the faction among the converts that was thus conspiring for the ruin of faith and morals, claimed that its teachings were approved by the authority of Jerusalem itself.¹ Feeling that it was a duty demanded by his own conscience, he resolved, Paul being absent, to speak, in an encyclical letter and in the name of the Mother Church, "as a servant of the God of Israel, but one likewise of the Lord Jesus Christ."² Like Peter, an Apostle of the Circumcision, and even more zealous than he in his heartfelt attachment to the Old Law, James addresses his words especially to Christians of the same blood and spirit as himself: "TO THE TWELVE TRIBES THAT ARE IN THE DISPERSION: GREETING."³

James' opening sentences are prompted by a feeling of compassion for the Christian communities, whose faith he longed to purify and strengthen. He realized that they

¹ It will be remembered that at the assembly held in this city Peter had explained and reconciled Paul's teaching concerning justification. "God . . . giveth the Holy Spirit unto the Gentiles even as unto us: He maketh no difference between them and us, *having purified their hearts by Faith.*"

² James i. 1.

³ This salutation, so Hebraic in its style, and other similar features of the Epistle, have led Spitta and Massebieau to conclude that St. James' letter is simply some document of Jewish origin and character (Spitta, *Der Brief des Jacobus untersucht*, Göttingen, 1896; Massebieau, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, novembre, decembre, 1895). The *Revue Biblique* for October contains a fine refutation of this singular hypothesis. Catholic exegetical scholars are by no means alone in admitting the authenticity of the Epistle of St. James; the majority of Protestants are quite as vigorous in their defence of it against the attacks of the Rationalists. See in the *Expositor* for May, 1897, pp. 321 *et seq.*, an article by Mayer, entitled *Authenticity of the Epistle of St. James against Harnack and Spitta.*

were doomed to be "the butt of various temptations,"¹ in a state of disquietude so oppressive to their souls that the first thing necessary was to revive their drooping courage. With this end in view, the Apostle reminds them that suffering is a joy to the disciple of Christ, because he finds in the exercise of patience the trial of his faith,² and as a reward therefor "that crown of life promised by God to them that love Him."³ The line of demarcation separating rich and poor was now becoming daily more noticeable in the Church, and would seem to be one of the principal grievances which the Apostle set himself to alleviate and correct; at all events it must have been uppermost in his mind, for he reverts to it constantly in this letter:—

"Let the brother of low degree," he writes, "glory therein, as thereby exalted;⁴ and let the rich regard [his wealth] as it were a humiliation, because as the flower of the grass he shall pass away. As the sun riseth with burning heat, the grass withereth, the flower thereof faileth, and the grace of its form perisheth, so also shall the rich fade away in his ways."⁵

Further on he repeats the same counsels:—

"My brethren, as you have faith in Our Lord Jesus Christ [the Lord] of glory, make no distinction between persons.⁶ For if there come into your synagogue a man wearing a golden ring⁷ and splendid apparel, and there

¹ James i. 2.

³ Ibid., i. 12.

² Ibid., i. 2-4.

⁴ The highest beatitude of the poor man lies in this, that by his poverty and privations he shares in the sufferings of the Christ, whereby alone he possesses a glory infinitely superior to all the joys which the rich man obtains from his wealth.

⁵ James i. 9-11.

⁶ Literally, "Have not the Faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ by making respect of persons."

⁷ In olden days wealthy women were not the only ones that loaded their fingers with rings and precious stones; in this respect the men rivalled them in such displays of luxury. "Senos Charinus omnibus digitis gerit, nec nocte ponit annulos, nec dum lavatur." Martial, xi. 60. Cf. Lucian, *Somn.*, 12.

enter also some poor man in mean garments, and, taking notice of him who is magnificently attired, you say to him, 'Sit thou here in a fine place;' and say to the poor man, 'Stand thou over there,' or 'Sit thou down here, below my footstool,' is not that to make a difference in your own mind between one and the other and to become judges of iniquitous minds? Hearken, my dearly beloved brethren! Hath not God chosen the poor of this world to be rich in faith and heirs of the Kingdom which He hath promised to them that love Him? And would you despise the poor? Is it not the wealthy that oppress you? Who, if not they, blaspheme the goodly Name [of Christ] whence your own is taken? If you fulfil the royal law, in accordance with that precept of Scripture, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' you do well. But if you have regard of the condition of persons, you commit sin, and are condemned by the law as transgressors."¹

This misunderstanding of the great law of Christianity, the law of Fraternal Charity, had sprung from the corrupting maxims of the Judaizers. James strikes straight at the roots of the evil and strives to sever them from the trunk. First and foremost were the fatalistic theories of certain Pharisees, who, by referring man's conduct to an irresistible destiny,² discharged man of anything like individual responsibility. One word was enough to shatter this immoral contention:—

"Let no man when he is tempted, say, 'I am tempted by God;' for God, a stranger to all evil, tempteth not any man, but every man under temptation is enticed and led away by his own lust; then lust, when it has conceived, bringeth forth sin, and sin, once consummated, engenders death."³

Another aberration of these false Christians was to impose no other condition on such as would be saved except a mere acquiescence to the Word of God, without

¹ James ii. 1-9.

² Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. viii. 14; *Antiq. Jud.*, xiii. v. 9; xviii. i. 5.

³ James i. 13-15.

a word said concerning its practice. "Unto whom might they be likened in this fond delusion?" asks James:—

"To a man who considereth his natural face in a glass, and who, after he hath cast his eyes upon it, goeth away and straightway forgetteth what manner of man he is. So he that shall have closely scrutinized the perfect law, the law of liberty, and shall have persevered therein,—not merely hearkening and forthwith forgetting, but doing that which he hath heard,—this man shall find happiness in his deed. If any one deemeth himself pious and doth not bridle his tongue, but deludeth himself in his own heart, his piety is vain. Pure religion and undefiled in the sight of God the Father is this—to visit the fatherless and widows in their afflictions, and to keep one's self unspotted from the world."¹

By these examples James clearly indicated the characteristic notes of the true Faith; a supernatural Grace first of all, it is true, "a perfect gift coming down from on High from the Father of lights,"² regenerating "the believer by the word of truth,"³ nevertheless, of no value for salvation save on condition that this "word implanted" in the soul exclude from it "all the filthiness and excesses of sin,"⁴ in order to bring forth "the fruits of righteousness"⁵ and peace and mercy. Nor does he stop there, but boldly attacks the capital delusion of the Judaizers, face to face:—

"My brethren, what doth it profit any one to say that he hath the Faith, if he have not works? Can faith save him? If a brother or a sister are without clothing and destitute of daily bread, and one of you say unto them, 'Go in peace, be ye warmed and filled,' without giving them what is needful for the body, of what profit are your words to them? Even so Faith, if it hath not works, is dead in itself."⁶

Some have professed to consider this teaching as the direct antithesis of Paul's doctrine, "Ye are saved by

¹ James i. 23-27.

² *Ibid.*, i. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 18.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 21.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iii. 18.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii. 14-17.

Grace, by Faith, . . . and this is not won by works.”¹ But the contradiction is only an apparent one. It vanishes as soon as we advert to the fact that, on the one hand, Paul does not deny the efficacy of works to save us, except to legal works, such works as man may accomplish without the aid of Grace; and that, on the other hand, when attributing this power to Faith, he has in mind, not any mere inert and sterile belief, but a power which works within the soul through Charity. Justification, therefore, according to both of the Apostles, is brought about in the same manner, in the depths of the soul, purifying and vivifying it, making it fruitful in works of righteousness and sanctity. Preoccupied as he was with his longing to convince the Jews of the powerlessness of their own Legal Works, Paul had cited Abraham, as showing that that Patriarch’s justification was by Faith.² Saint James, recurring to the same example, reminds them of what manner of Faith this was which was so powerful, lively, and fecund that it gave birth to so heroic an act.

“Wilt thou know, O vain man, that faith without works is dead? Was not our father Abraham justified by works when he offered his son Isaac upon the altar? Seest thou how faith wrought with his works and by works was his faith made perfect? . . . As the body without the soul is dead, so faith without works is dead also.”³

This last sentence cast the clarifying rays of common-sense upon a question which the Judaizing element had befogged to the best of their ability. It disposed of it in the minds of all sincere and honest thinkers. There still remained the duty of healing their wounded hearts, and for this task James’ well known attachment to the Mosaic law lent him just that air of authority which enabled him to bare the infected spot and use his scalpel without fear. Unflinchingly he proceeds to expose the vices of his brethren of Israel, “bitter jealousies and a spirit of con-

¹ Ephes. ii. 8, 9.

³ James ii. 20-26.

² Rom. iv.; Gal. iii. 6-9.

tentiousness," intemperate language, impudent claims to universal dominion, of bringing all creation under the sway of their "terrestrial, animal, and diabolical wisdom;"¹ sentiments so unseemly in followers of the Gospel, he branded and cauterized in a manner worthy of the olden Prophets:—

"From whence come strifes and battles among you? Is it not because your passions wage war in your members? You are lustful, and you have naught; you slay, and desire ardently to possess, but without obtaining aught; you appeal to the courts, you make war and you gain naught, because you ask not; you ask and receive not, because you ask amiss, that you may expend it upon your lusts. Adulterers!"² Know you not that the friendship of the world is enmity with God? Whosoever will be a friend of the world makes himself an enemy of God."³

The bluntness of these words shows how completely James realized his authority over Christians of his own race, as one of right empowered to speak his whole mind to them. It was not, however, by such displays of vigor—which are, for that matter, of only occasional occurrence in this letter—that he endeavored to reclaim the strayed sheep of the flock; on the contrary, even with this end in view, we see him pouring forth from his heart those treasures of ardent charity, with all that grace and tenderness which were the fruits of his meditations on the Saviour's words. The Glad Tidings seem to come to life once more in his letter; there is the same simplicity about its teachings, the same charm sur-

¹ James iii. 14-16.

² The Jews regarded God as the Spouse of their race and of all humanity. Hence this exclamation: "Adulterers . . . think you that the Scripture sayeth in vain, 'The Spirit which God hath sent to dwell within you loveth you with a jealous love'?" These last words are not intended to be taken as a quotation of any particular text, but rather as a concise expression of that idea so variously and richly illustrated in the Scriptures; namely, that God, by breathing into us His Spirit, is become, as it were, our Spouse; and that as He is a jealous God, He will in no wise suffer us to divide our hearts between the world and Him.

³ James iv. 1-4.

rounding its images, drawn from the fields, the lakes, and the clear skies of Galilee.¹ As a rule James sets forth his thoughts, as did Jesus, unconstrainedly, without caring to preserve the continuity of thought or any methodical order. Here and there, however, taking the Sapiential Books of Israel as his model, by some striking picture he sets his particular point of morality in strong relief:—

“If any one offend not by speaking, the same is a perfect man and able also to bridle the whole body. Behold the horses’ bits; these we put in their mouths and they obey us, and thus we direct their whole body whithersoever we would go. Behold also the ships, which are so great and driven by fierce winds; yet are turned about with a very small helm, toward whatever direction the steersman wills they should go. Even so the tongue is a little member; and yet of what great things it boasteth! Behold how great a forest a little fire may enkindle! Yea, the tongue is a fire, a world of iniquities; though it be but one of our members, it defileth the whole body, inflameth the whole course of our life, and is itself inflamed by hell-fire. For every species of wild beasts and birds, reptiles and creatures of the sea is tamed, and hath been tamed, by the human species. But the tongue no mortal can tame. ’T is an unruly evil, full of deadly poison. By it we bless God our Father, and by it we curse men made in the likeness of God; out of the same mouth proceedeth blessing and cursing. My brethren, it ought not so to be. Doth a fountain send forth from the same opening sweet waters and bitter? Doth a fig-tree, my brethren, bear olives, or a vine, figs? From a salty fountain cometh forth no fresh streams.”²

This animated passage furnishes us with a key to the character of James, revealing as it does the puissant

¹ How naturally in this letter James turns to his native land for the images and comparisons he seeks: the hillsides, green with fig-trees, vines, and olive-orchards; the pasture lands, so fresh at dawn, but withering away beneath the midday sun; refreshing fountains, near neighbors to salty springs; on the soft horizon-line, the azure sea; and the rains of spring-time and of autumn, the husbandman’s one hope. (James iii. 12; i. 10, 11, 6; v. 7.)

² James iii. 2-12.

charm of his genius, and, at the same time, the nobility, the loftiness of soul, which forced all Israel to bow before him. Loyalty and an inflexible uprightness are salient traits of his sanctity. To this rugged ascetic, hungering for righteousness and truth, it would be useless to palter with belief; prayer that was half-hearted, murmured with doubting lips, would be impossible to him. "He that wavereth," he would answer, "is like a wave of the sea, tossed hither and thither. Let not such an one fancy that he shall receive anything from the Lord: he is a double-minded man, unstable in all his ways."¹ Thus, to vacillate, "to know the good and not to do it, is to sin,"² is "to lie to the truth."³ "Cleanse your hands, ye sinners, and purify your souls, ye that are half-hearted."⁴ "Let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay!"⁵

James' first thought is to inculcate this sincerity of soul, this serious view of a Christian's life, to be embraced unreservedly and without one afterthought. Like Paul, as we have seen, he made no attempt to conceal the fact, even from himself, that any such perfection as this is "a perfect gift coming down from on High, from the Father of lights, in Whom there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning;"⁶ and that, therefore, to obtain it we must ask for it, and "draw nigh to God, if we would that He draw nigh unto us."⁷ Hence prayer he considered as the very staff of spiritual life, and to a life of prayer he seeks to reduce the whole practice of Faith in these closing lines of his letter:—

"Is any one among you afflicted? Let him pray. Is any merry? Let him sing canticles of joy. Is any one among you sick? Let him call in the Elders⁸ of the con-

¹ James i. 6-8.

² Ibid., iv. 17.

³ Ibid., iii. 14.

⁴ Ibid., iv. 8.

⁵ Ibid., v. 12.

⁶ Ibid., i. 17.

⁷ Ibid., iv. 8.

⁸ *Τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας.* "Si quis dixerit presbyteros Ecclesiæ, quos beatus Jacobus adducendos esse ad infirmum inungendum hortatur, non esse sacerdotes ab Episcopo ordinatos, sed ætate seniores in quavis communitate, ob idque proprium Extremæ Uctionis ministrum non esse solum sacerdotem anathema sit." *Concilium Tridentinum*, sess. xiv., *De Extrem. Uct.*, can. 4.

gregation, and let them pray for him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of Faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall comfort him, and if he hath committed sins, they shall be forgiven him.¹ Confess your faults one to another and pray one for another, that you may be healed; the fervent prayer of the righteous availeth much."

We have no means of knowing the effect produced by this letter. Did James' words, so thoroughly Christian in spirit, although Jewish in form, and very different from what Paul had accustomed the faithful to,—did this eloquent message find lodgment in their souls? Were not even the Israelites of those far distant Churches more surprised than pleased at being addressed as "the Twelve Tribes of the Dispersion"?² on hearing Mosaism, once branded by Paul as "the Law of sin and of death," proclaimed anew by James, as the "perfect"³ model of Christianity, the absolute "Sovereign Law,"⁴ all of whose commandments must be kept; and this so rigorously that "to fail in one point is to be guilty of all"?⁵ Furthermore, were James' words accepted abroad and invested with the same authority that they bore at Jerusalem? Neither Holy Scripture nor Tradition warrants us in answering these questions in the affirmative.

On the other hand, the fact most clearly indicated by

¹ The Council of Trent in its 14th session, *DOCTRINA DE SACRAMENTO EXTREMÆ UNCTIONIS*, has commented upon these words of the Apostle at length, and has fixed their interpretation. "Instituta est sacra hæc Unctio infirmorum, tanquam vere et proprie sacramentum Novi Testamenti, a Christo Domino nostro apud Marcum quidem insinuaturn (vi. 13), per Jacobum autem apostolum, ac Domini fratrem, fidelibus commendatum ac promulgatum. Infirmatur, inquit, quis in vobis, etc." (Session xiv., *DOCTRINA DE SACRAMENTO EXTREMÆ UNCTIONIS*, chap. i.).

² James i. 1.

³ *Νόμον τέλειον τὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας*. James i. 2-5. To the eyes of James the Gospel stands forth as the completion, the perfection, of the Law. He adds that it is "a Law of Liberty;" certainly not because the ancient Law appeared to him as one of servitude, but because the Gospel teaches us how to fulfil the older in all its perfectness, through our own free and spontaneous obedience.

⁴ *Νόμον . . . βασιλικόν*, James i. 25.

⁵ James ii. 10.

these traditions is the growing influence of James in the Holy City. Asceticism is held in high esteem in the East. Now we have seen to what an extent James carried his contempt for the body.¹ The multitude were always overwhelmed with awe as often as they beheld this Saint pass by, — with long, untrimmed locks, barefooted, his limbs wasted from fasting; or when gazing upon him absorbed in prayer, kneeling or prostrate on the hard ground, again reverence overmastered them: Jews and Christians alike bowed their heads before this man, who recalled to them the great seers of their race, not only by his rugged exterior, but by his fiery speech as well. But it was the common people, the lowly and the poor, always so numerous in Jerusalem, who listened to him most eagerly; for he shared, to the full, their aversion for the mighty men of Israel, and with unmeasured scorn launched his anathemas at these leaders, branding them for their corruption, their proud and haughty worship of self: —

“Go to, now, ye wealthy, weep! Howl over the miseries that shall come upon you! Your riches are tainted; your gold and silver are cankered, and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall devour your flesh as it were by fire! Lo! this is the treasure which you have heaped together for the last days. Behold now the hire, whereof you have defrauded the laborers who have reaped down your fields, crieth against you, and the cry of the reapers hath reached the ears of the Lord Sabaoth. You have dallied with pleasure on the earth, and have wantoned in luxury; you have fattened yourselves, like victims for the sacrifice. You have condemned, ay, killed the Just One who hath not resisted you.”²

On hearing such invectives, the emotion that thrilled the throngs waxed tremendous, nor was the rage of the ruling class, so fiercely scourged, any the less overpowering. Elsewhere we have studied the characteristics of

¹ *St. Peter and the First Days of Christianity*, chap. xi.

² James v. 1-6.

this aristocracy, made up for the most part of the priestly caste.¹ In their hands the Pontificate, auctioned off to the highest bidder, became an instrument of tyranny.² Were any unfortunates in arrears with their tithes, forthwith a swarm of hirelings descended upon their storehouses and barns, and pillaged them, cruelly maltreating the poor wight who ventured to remonstrate. Small wonder that the people and the lower clergy, reduced to extremities by their exactions, were united in a common hatred of their oppressors.³ The following Anathema, preserved in the pages of the Talmud, shows what rebellious feelings were seething in their souls: —

“ A bane to the land is the House of Boëthos,
 A curse on their wands of office !
 A bane to the land is the House of Hannan !
 A curse on their hissing of vipers !
 A bane to the land is the House of Kataros !
 A curse upon their plumes !
 A bane to the land is the House of Ismael, sons of Phabi !
 A curse upon their mailed fists !

“ They are High Priests, their sons are Treasurers, their sons-in-law Commanders, and their varlets beat the people with their staves ! ”⁴

This was doubtless some popular refrain they murmured beneath their breath. But little recked the Pontiffs. What mattered it to them if the lower classes chewed the cud of ineffectual wrath, provided that no outbreak occurred to disturb the peace and compromise them with Rome ? In their eyes James appeared far more dangerous, since his sanctity had won him the esteem of every upright person left in Jerusalem. Even the Pharisees revered him on account of his fidelity to the Law. Now, the Pharisees constituted what was properly the body politic of the nation ; beside them were only the Sadducees, who formed merely an immoral and sceptical minority. The political

¹ *St. Peter*, etc., chap. x.

² Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, p. 248.

³ Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, xv. viii. 8 ; ix. 2.

⁴ *Pesachim*, 57 a.

peril, their own wounded pride, and rancorous vices, all demanded the suppression of this preacher: circumstances proved propitious for the Pontiffs' plans.

On the death of Festus, in Judea, at the beginning of the year 62, Albinus was appointed by Nero to succeed him. The new Procurator set out by way of Egypt, and consequently took several months to reach his province. In this interval the Sovereign Pontificate likewise changed hands; after deposing Joseph Kabi, Herod Agrippa installed in his place Annas (Hannan), son of the High Priest of the same name, — a name rendered infamously notorious by the condemnation and death of Our Saviour during his administration. Malevolent acts of violence were hereditary in that family, but Annas the younger was especially distinguished among them all for his hardness of heart and arrogant audacity. Realizing, better than any one else, how deeply James' holy life discredited him and his compeers, he resolved to get rid of him. Agrippa just then chanced to be away from Jerusalem; Albinus, as we have seen, was still delaying his arrival; it was a unique opportunity to commit a legal murder, unhindered and unopposed from the very outset. Annas seized it, hastily convoked the Sanhedrin, and demanded that James and some of the brethren be sentenced to be stoned, as violators of the Law.¹ It was easy enough to reach the latter, who were apparently both poor and of lowly rank, but far more difficult to lay hands on James, whom the whole town revered. The account of Hegesippus, which, though full of apochryphal details,² is based on historical facts, indicates that the members of the Sanhedrin, in order to execute their sentence, were constrained to lay a trap for the Apostle and take him by surprise.

"It was in the Paschal season," says the ancient chroni-

¹ Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, xx. ix. 1; Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ii. xxiii.

² One notable mistake is that he attributes the death of James to the Pharisees. Now the Pharisees composed the majority of the people, the masses; and they, as we have seen, were deeply devoted to the Apostle.

cler; "they conducted James out upon the terraces of the Temple and urged him to dissuade the people, gathered in the Porches, from following after the crucified Jesus.

"Why do you question me concerning Jesus, the Son of Man?" he cried in a loud voice. "He is seated in Heaven, at the right hand of the Great Power of God, and He shall come upon the clouds of heaven!"

"Hosannah to the Son of David!" was the response of the multitude.

"We have done ill," the Sanhedrin members muttered among themselves, "by bringing down on ourselves this testimony to Jesus; let us go up thither and cast him down below, that so the terrified mob may believe in him no longer."

"Oh! Oh! the Just One himself has gone mad!" they began to shout; and, hastily mounting the terrace, they threw him headlong down upon the pavements of the Porches below.

"James did not die at once, but drawing himself up upon his knees he repeated that prayer, the prayer of his Master upon the Cross, 'Lord God, our Father, I beseech Thee, forgive them, for they know not what they do!'"

"The Scribes' only reply was the death-cry, 'Stone him! Stone this James the Just!' and they began to hail missiles on his devoted head.

"As they fell upon him, a priest of the Rechabite family¹

¹ The origin and history of the Rechabites is wrapped in obscurity. Are these ascetics, — Kenites as they were by birth (1 Par. ii. 55), — to be considered as Israelites? or were they merely affiliated with them? and, if so, to what degree? It is hard to give a precise answer. From the report given us by Jeremy (xxxv. 7), the following rules had been given them by Jonadab, son of Rechab: "You shall not drink of wine, neither you nor your sons forevermore. You shall not build houses, you shall not sow grain, you shall not plant vines, neither shall you possess them, but you shall dwell in tents all the days of your life." Taken together, these precepts present a picture of some tribe living in the open, but bound by vows to lead a patriarchal life. When the invasion of Nabuchodonosor (598 B. C.) forced them to take refuge in Jerusalem, they were quartered in the Porches of the Temple, where the disciples of Hanan, son of Jigdalia, were leading a life very like their own (Jer. xxxv. 4). The Rechabites seem to have been attached for a long period of time to the Sanctuary of Israel, and to have dwelt there as servers of the priests. On the return

attempted to stop them. 'What are you doing?' he said; 'see, the Just One is praying for you!'

"But a fuller who stood by swung the mallet he used in fulling cloth, and brought it down upon his head. Thus was the Apostle martyred."¹

This murder roused the indignation of even the Jews of Jerusalem, and it was precisely the strict observers of the Law who displayed the deepest displeasure, for James was their boast. Many of them sent despatches secretly to King Agrippa, begging him to curb Annas' tyranny and prevent the recurrence of such deeds of violence; others sought the ear of the new Governor, whose company they joined as soon as he left Alexandria for Judea. On hearing their report, how, without his assent and in defiance of his rights, the Sanhedrin had been assembled in judicial council, Albinus sent the Pontiff an angry and threatening letter; but it came too late for Annas to feel its full effect, as he had already been deposed by Agrippa, and Jesus, the son of Damnæus, appointed in his stead. The pontificate of Annas had lasted but three months.²

This satisfaction accorded to popular indignation did not suffice, however, to banish the troubles and anxieties of Jerusalem. A belief that God would avenge the Saint was firmly held by the people; accordingly, as soon as war broke out in the land, many regarded it as the beginning of the dreaded punishment.³ Indeed, did not the whole condition of affairs in the Holy City demand the interposition of the Arm of Judgment? Besides the corrupt magistrates, there were impostors of every description who kept the masses in a perpetual fever of rebellion; the Zealots, especially, sowed terror in their path. Festus had repressed them, granting no quarter and no mercy; but their bands, once scattered and disseminated

from captivity we find them there still (1 Paral., ii. 55. Cf. Jerem. xxxv. 19), and from Hegesippus' testimony, which appears most plausible in this particular, we learn that in the first century some of these ascetics were still to be encountered there.

¹ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, i. xxiii.

² Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, xx. ix. 1.

³ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, ii. xxiii.

over the country, could not be easily captured and destroyed; beaten in one place, they soon appeared elsewhere. Albinus did not long continue this thankless task; less upright than his predecessor, he preferred to shut his eyes to the enterprises of these brigands; worse still, he made them pay for his tacit connivance.¹

In this state of demoralization, what could unhappy Jerusalem do, save gaze with horror into the abyss which threatened to engulf her people, shuddering at its unknown depths? Toward the end of this same year (62), a foreboding clamor began to make itself heard within the walls. A peasant named Jesus, son of Hannan, had come up to the Feast of the Tabernacles: like another Jeremiah, he began of a sudden to cry out in the Temple:—

“Oh, Voice from the East! Oh, Voice from the West! Voice of the four winds! A Voice crying out against Jerusalem and the Temple! A Voice crying out against the married men and the married women! A Voice crying out against the whole people!”

Night and day he rushed through the streets repeating the same anathemas. Certain men in authority, weary of hearing his maledictions, caused him to be arrested and whipped. He said nothing, asked no mercy, but continued his melancholy cries as before. Such hardihood disconcerted the magistrates; fearing lest this voice might be from God, they conducted Jesus to the Roman Governor, who ordered that he be scourged till the skin was flayed from his bones. The man made no appeal, shed not a tear, but, at each stroke, repeated in pitiful tones, “Ah-h! Ah-h! Jerusalem!”

Albinus asked him who he was, whence he came, and what was the reason of his cries. No answer, save his wonted song of lamentation.

“He is insane,” said the Governor, and bade them let him go.

Thus, until the siege, Jesus, son of Hannan, continued his wails, speaking to no one, making no complaint when

¹ Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, xx. ix.; *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xiv. 1.

maltreated, nor even thanking such as gave him something to eat. On festival days his cries were redoubled in strength, although his voice never grew hoarse. As soon as the city was blockaded, he proceeded on his rounds on top of the walls, chanting "Woe to the city! Woe to the Temple! Woe to the people!" till at last he added, "Woe to me!" and fell killed by a stone hurled from a catapult.¹

The destruction, foretold by this strange seer in 62 was not to befall them until eight years later; but nothing thereafter could stay its approach; for, with James, the last bulwark that stood between them and Divine Justice had fallen. None of the Apostles, indeed, came thither to replace "the brother of the Lord,"² at the head of the Mother Church. Even the Christian community he left to persecutions and trials was soon forced to flee. Jerusalem, now abandoned to the wrath of Heaven, was about to suffer the penalty for that Blood Divine which she had called down "upon herself and upon her children."³

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vi. v. 3.

² Gal. i. 19.

³ Matt. xxvii. 25.

CHAPTER III.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

WHILE Jerusalem was stifling in its bosom the last germs of life and the only hope of salvation left to it, Rome was eagerly propagating the Faith which Paul had been commissioned to spread throughout the Gentile world. His confinement afforded him long hours of solitude and silence; and, in these seasons of calm, the deeper meanings of the teachings of Jesus were revealed to him. All that is most lofty in the theology of the Incarnation is, indeed, founded upon the letters which Paul wrote at this time; they may therefore be rightfully regarded as the fruit of these years of captivity, when God permitted men to fetter the limbs of the Apostle, but only with the knowledge that thus his soul would be given a freer flight toward these loftier Revelations which were to be allotted him. This access of Heavenly light was destined, all in good time, to dissipate the gloom which was then threatening to enshroud the churches founded by Paul.

We have just seen how deeply James was alarmed at these perils to the Faith, and how he did his best to avert them; but he was acquainted with only a few of them, and those the least formidable. The darkest clouds were not those that lowered over Jerusalem, but in far-off Asia, the last scene of Paul's ministry. In this region the dogmatic questions so hotly disputed by Christians and Judaizers — the utility of "Observances" and "Salvation through Faith" — seem to have been regarded as of secondary interest. These men's minds were keenly absorbed in a very different spectacle: it was the awakening of Philosophy to the fact that a new Faith was born, and, thereafter, its efforts were to draw it within its own

sphere, to incorporate it in its own system, in a word, to absorb it, as it had done with so many Pagan mythologies. For the first time calm and sceptical reason was brought face to face with the Gospel, and at once opened a conflict which is destined to last as long as the pride of man shall endure.

The Roman province of Asia proved a propitious field for such a contest, for it was the ancient Ionia, the mother of Thales and Heraclitus, famed of old for its curiosity concerning intellectual questions, eager for some new thing, and prompt to forge new fancies from their own chimerical dreams. Phrygia, a near neighbor, fostered its own grosser Mysteries among them, — the worship of Cybele and Sabazius, degrading all attributes of divinity to the creative forces of Nature. Added to these hereditary influences, there was the never-ceasing seductiveness of foreign theories, brought with them by the visitors who were attracted thither by the prosperity of the country, and who came from the most widely separated regions, from Greece and Alexandria and Judea and the far East. The Phrygian sects of the succeeding century give us some notion of the filthiness which frothed from this ferment of foreign mixture; never perhaps has the madness of lubricity been carried to such an excess.¹

In the epoch with which we are concerned, the nascent contagion had not as yet worked such havoc as it did later on. Undoubtedly it had already tainted the conduct of life, but its first care was to lead men's minds astray. The wind of Error which was rising over Paul's flocks still stirred only the heights above; yet it was undermining, and, indeed, bade fair to overthrow, the

¹ "Omitto Cataphrygas, Ophitas, Borboritas et Manichæos: nota enim jam hæc humanæ calamitatis vocabula sunt. Quis unquam Passaloryncitas et Ascodrobos et Astotyritas, et cætera magis portenta quam nomina in aliqua parte Romani orbis audivit? Antiquæ stultitiæ usque hodie manet vestigia." St. Jerome, *Comment. in Epist. ad Galat.*, i. ii., præcæm.; cf. St. Epiphanius, xlviii. 14; xlix. 1, 2; Philaster, 74-75; *Prædestinatus*, lib. i., *passim* (*Patrol. Lat.*, Migne, vol. liii. p. 588 *et seq.*).

loftiest teachings of the Apostle, those which he had most at heart, because by them he proclaimed Jesus to be infinitely raised above all creatures, — God, even as is the Father, in Whose bosom He liveth forevermore.

Under what form did the new Heresy attack this primordial dogma of Christianity?

To help us to divine the answer, we have only a few allusions, certain significant words in Saint Paul's Epistles, but principally the doctrinal exposition which the Apostle used opposing it. The main point which these various indications settle beyond all question is, that the errors elaborated by the Gnostics of the following ages were already recognizable in their germs here in the Christian communities of Ephesus and Colossæ.

As the basis of all these fancies we find the same peculiar propensities, the same objects in view, the same aberrations misleading them. "Whence cometh Evil?"¹ To this query, which has ever been a torturing one for Reason, left to its own powers to solve, what was the answer? Neither suffering nor sin could emanate from an Infinite Being, good both in Its essence and in the plenitude of Its powers. Their only alternative was to invent, as opposed to God, some adverse principle, eternal and independent, which limits and impairs His almighty Attributes. This ill-omened part the Gnostics assigned to Matter, which they represented, sometimes as the principle of inertia and death, or, again, as the leaven of corruption. The Dualism of the Persians appears at the very core of their speculations, in less striking prominence, doubtless, than in the religious doctrines of Iran, but originating from them in all likelihood. From the same source it would seem they borrowed another theory of equal importance to Gnosticism, the chain of Intermediaries between God and the creature, which they multiplied *ad infinitum*, in

¹ "Languens enim (quod et nunc multi, et maxime hæretici) circa mali quæstionem. Unde malum? . . ." Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem*, i. 2. Cf. *De Præscript.*, 7; Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, v. xvii.

order to explain how a Being, essentially good and pure, could communicate with a world stained by sin. To solve this problem they conceived the Deity as outpouring itself in a succession of Emanations, after each one of them evaporating and vanishing more and more. Thus the gulf between the infinite and finite is bridged over, while the disproportion gradually diminishes, until it is so far lessened that a point of contact between the two becomes possible, and creation begins its work.¹

My only object in referring here to these parent notions of Gnosticism is in order to make more striking by contrast the Theology which the Apostle urged in opposition; for far be it from me to attribute any such complete body of doctrines to the Heretics whom Saint Paul had in mind. There was no leader among them capable of condensing the mass of floating ideas then current and giving them his name; each one was blown hither and thither by his own doubts, and though it is true that a current was forming which was dragging their minds toward the same abyss, this was simply because the same influences were wafting them along.

These influences, as we have seen, had their rise for the most part in certain Oriental dogmas imported by Pagan philosophers who were imbued with them, and who were flocking from every direction into Ionia. Another source of error was their frequent contact with certain Israelites, half traders, half missionaries, who hawked their wares and their doctrines at the same time, the latter a strange hodge-podge of truth and falsehood. As in the time of Jesus, these men "compassed land and sea merely to make proselytes twofold worthier of Gehenna than they themselves."² The most active among them were the fanatical followers of Mosaism, the so-called Judaizers, whose tactics we are already familiar with. Paul knew them only too well. But there were others at work propagating

¹ See Matter, *Histoire Critique du Gnosticisme*; Baur, *Christliche Gnosis*; Lipsius' article on *Gnosticismus* in Ersch und Gruber; Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies*.

² Matt. xxiii. 15.

chimeras analogous to those we have been considering; these they had borrowed principally from a sect known to us already.¹ I allude to the Essenes.

From the very outset the authority of these ascetics had been great in Israel, and it does not appear that the new-born Christianity had in any wise weakened it. From the shores of the Dead Sea,² where they still dwelt, their doctrines were being continually spread abroad. We cannot pretend to go into details, but one thing is sure,—that in many points these doctrines were in harmony with the tendencies of Gnosticism. Thus, though it is nowhere expressly stated, we can assert with certainty that both teachings presuppose similar views as to the pernicious part played by Matter, as well as the existence of certain “Intermediary Beings” between God and man.

“The Essene, indeed, was not content, like the common run of Jews, merely to be exact in the Observances of the Law;³ he outdid them all in rigorousness, going so far as to put marriage under the ban;⁴ not satisfied with the simple distinction between clean and unclean meats, he abstained from wine, oil, and the flesh of animals.⁵ Evidently this strictness had no other object save the emancipation of the soul from the senses and from matter, the reputed source of all evil.⁶

On the other hand, the Essene, like the Gnostic, plumed himself on the possession of superior wisdom,

¹ See *The Christ, the Son of God*, vol. i. chap. i.

² Their principal communities were located on the banks of this sea (Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, v. 15; *Synesius, Dio* 3), but they were to be found likewise in many towns throughout Judea (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. viii. 4. Philo, *Fragm.*, p. 632). Although we have no testimony to prove their presence among the Jews of the Dispersion, there is not the slightest doubt that even among these their influence was felt. See Lightfoot, *Colossians*, pp. 91 *et seq.*

³ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. viii. 5–12.

⁴ Philo, *Fragm.*, p. 633; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. viii. 2; Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, v. 15.

⁵ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. viii. 3–5.

⁶ For the same reason, the Essenes refused to believe in the Resurrection of the Body, a doctrine held by the Pharisees (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. viii. 11). The soul imprisoned in its fleshly tabernacle is set free therefrom by death, that it may survive alone, transfigured forevermore.

shared exclusively by a few privileged ones. "He has the same pride of caste, together with a jealous anxiety," says the historian Josephus, "to reserve to the chosen adepts the Books of the Sect and the Names of the Angels."¹ What are we to understand by this angelical nomenclature, unless the allusion be to some system of Emanations analogous to the *Eons* of Gnosticism, a chain of superior beings keeping up a constant communication between heaven and earth?

Such fancies germinated spontaneously in the minds of the Jews, accustomed by their belief to conceive of a plurality of persons in the Divinity. Indeed their inspired Books disclose, under the name of "Wisdom," a God existing within God from the beginning, assisting at every creative act, and finding Its delight in dwelling among the children of men. This doctrine was preserved in its purity by the orthodox schools; for the Scribes, substituting for the term "Wisdom" that of *Memera*, the Word, the Word of God, still taught the same dogma, only under a more expressive form.² This, however, was not at all the case in profane lands. At Alexandria, notably, Philo so far altered the truth as to travesty the Word by making it a secondary God, the mere image of the first, separate and distinct from the Almighty, and in everything inferior to Him.³

It is easy to imagine what food these speculations, coming from famous schools, must have furnished for the doubters among the disciples in Asia, half Christian, half Theosophists as they were. Even more surely than did the ascendancy which the Orient and the Essenes wielded over them, such teachings led them insensibly into confounding their Christian Faith with the philosophical vagaries of the period, into relegating the Supreme Being into the realms of inaccessible mystery, till finally they raised the question whether Jesus, as Mediator between

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. viii. 7.

² See *The Christ the Son of God*, vol. i. App. ii., THE "WORD" OF ST. JOHN.

³ Philo, *De Confus. Ling.*, 28, *Quod Deus sit immut.*, 6, etc.

the world and God, did not hold this office as a being of secondary rank, more human than divine.

Paul had foreseen the speedy development of these errors in the Churches of Asia, for they were already in process of fermentation at the time he was forced by the rioters to quit Ephesus. Fervent as these Christian communities were when he left them, his clear eye perceived that they would always fall an easy prey to the seductions which he had had to vanquish as a preliminary to their foundation, — their fondness for Magic and the old national Mysteries, but most of all, this infiltration of Jewish and Alexandrine doctrines. On the occasion of his last visit to the shores of Miletus, these bodeful mists had seemed to him more dense than of old, more ominous than ever; for to the Elders of the Churches, who thronged about him, he spoke of naught save of the approaching ravages in their flocks, and of doctors raised up in the very midst of the faithful to spread the dreaded contagion.¹ And, accordingly, the apparition of a Heresy endowed with both form and body, was not likely to surprise him now.

Accounts of it were brought to him while at Rome by Epaphras, the Apostle of the valley of the Lycus. From Colossæ, his native town, this pious believer exercised a sort of Patriarchate over the Christian communities round about,² and was chosen by them, as soon as Paul's imprisonment became known, to go and comfort him, or if need be, lend him aid. Epaphras fulfilled this mission with such devotion that Paul calls him "my fellow-prisoner in Christ Jesus."³ Was this intended for a mere figure of speech, in praise of his assiduity in the Apostle's service, or did he really, owing to some act of excessive zeal, enjoy the honor of sharing his prison and his chains? No precise answer to this question can be gathered from the sacred text, but so much is clearly evidenced therein:

¹ Acts xx. 29-30.

² See *St. Paul and His Missions*, chap. x.

³ Philem. 23.

Paul's deep attachment to this disciple, and his delight at having him near him as a comforter and help.

Living in such intimacy with him, there was every opportunity for Epaphras to give a full account of the state of his brethren in Asia, especially of the Colossians, whose actual pastor he seems to have been. He described to him "their faith in Christ Jesus, their charity toward the Saints," "a charity altogether of the spirit;"¹ but at the same time he spoke plainly of the errors which threatened them. We have just been studying this pernicious compound of Alexandrine fantasies and Judaic rigorism. In Colossæ² many were being carried by these chimeras to the heights of folly, not stopping at any distinction between clean and unclean food, but going so far as to deny the body its legitimate rights.³ Furthermore, by exalting and disfiguring the office of the Angels, they made them the mediators between God and man,⁴ thereby detracting from the glory due to the Saviour alone. Paul was cut to the quick by this attack on what to him was the dearest thing on earth, the Divine Power of Jesus. Realizing fully how pressing was the danger of this new enticement, the Apostle resolved to write to the Colossians without delay. Accordingly he summoned Timothy,⁵ and to him he dictated a short Epistle, overflowing with the one thought which was filling his soul more and more, — the Christ is all in all; all things are through Him, for Him, in Him: —

"He is the image of the invisible God, born before all creatures,⁶ for by Him were all things created in the heavens

¹ Coloss. i. 4-8.

² The foremost abettors of heresy seem to have been Israelites, for amid their vagaries they mingle certain Legal Ordinances; these they present as a practical consequence of their teaching; with this idea they earnestly inculcated the observance of certain Jewish Feasts, New Moons, the Sabbath, and even Circumcision as well (Coloss. ii. 13-16). As we have seen elsewhere, the Jews were very numerous in the valley of Lycus. *St. Paul and His Missions*, chap. x.

³ Coloss. ii. 21-23.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 1.

⁶ *Πρωτότοκος*, properly speaking, "the first-born." This was another Messianic title which the Jews had borrowed from Psalm lxxxviii. 28:

and on the earth, things visible and invisible, the very Thrones, Principalities, Dominations; all were created by Him and for Him. He is before all things, and all things subsist in Him.¹ He is the Head of the body of the Church, the origin, the first-born from among the dead, that in all things His place might be the first; for it has so pleased the Father that all fulness should dwell in Him, and that, having pacified by the Blood of His Cross all that is on earth, as well as that which is in Heaven, He should reconcile all things by Him and in Him.”²

The fundamental idea of the Epistle to the Colossians is to be found in these few lines. Six years later, writing to the Corinthians, Paul merely repeats this under an abridged form: “There is but one Lord Jesus Christ, by Whom are all things and we by Him.”³ Here he is setting forth the doctrine simply, and as God had seen fit to develop it before his eyes up to that date, but just as fully as was necessary at this critical moment in order to strengthen the faith of the Asiatic Christians. In opposition to any “Intermediary Beings,” independent of the Christ, such as their fancies were picturing as links between Heaven and earth, Paul holds up the one and only Redeemer, Source of Grace and Principle of all super-

“Et ego primogenitum ponam illum.” Whereby they meant to indicate, at one and the same time, that the Christ, in so much as He is the Word, is anterior to all creation, and accordingly is Lord of all. Engendered before the beginning of time, in Himself He partakes of all things appertaining unto the Father, all that He is. But it is not simply due to His title as only Son and Heir of the Father that He is Sovereign of the universe; this He is likewise, in virtue of the active part which He has taken in Creation itself. Through Him as the First Cause, united with the Father, the moving Principle of all Creation, everything has been created by Him, in Heaven and on Earth, the spiritual world as well as the material; all things have been subjected unto Him, even the celestial beings themselves, — Thrones, Dominations, Principalities, Powers. He is the first, and He shall be the last, of all things; and since everything proceedeth from Him, everything shall revert unto Him, as unto its supreme End.

¹ *Τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν.* To Creation, so manifold in its aspects, He gives that coherence which makes it a compact whole, exhibiting a Divine order and harmony, in a word, the *Cosmos*.

² Coloss. i. 15-20.

³ 1 Cor. viii. 6.

natural life, whether for Angels or for men, Jesus, the only Son of God, the Son of His Love, begotten before the world, in Whom overflows the fulness of the Divine Being. This fulness of the Deity, this "Pleroma,"¹ to use the shibboleth of Gnosticism, is not relegated to the unknown and unknowable, far away, beyond some gulf fixed between God and man. No! this plenitude dwells corporeally in Jesus. It is precisely from this Divinity of the Word Incarnate that every creative act proceeds; not after the fashion of luminous rays, which lose their power according to the murkiness of the clouds they must penetrate, but bursting forth in a splendor unquenchable and remaining ever divinely the same, no matter how great the distance or what gloomy chasms are to be crossed. The action of the Creator-Christ is direct, immediate. Universal Lord, He is all in all, as mighty in the least of beings as in the greatest. Thus, then, we are in touch with God through the Christ, for this Christ is supreme God in Whom dwells the divine "Pleroma." Between the Infinite and us there is no intermediary.

And as Jesus is Author of all Creation, so is He also Author of our Redemption, of the reconciliation of earth and Heaven, the Blood of His Cross having effaced the sin of man. For this stupendous Deed He alone was sufficient; or, rather, He and only He was capable of it, because it required a person at once Divine and human.² What could the Angels accomplish towards this?³ Why try to shackle and impede the Work Divine, as some misguided minds would have them? These latter are always in Paul's thoughts; but only that he may show the clearer how they are vanquished by the Christ, despoiled of all

¹ The *πλήρωμα* of which St. Paul is speaking of (Coloss. i. 19) is not merely the sum total of powers and attributes of the Divinity, it is the Divine Nature, the Essence itself in its fulness.

² Coloss. ii. 11-14.

³ In the epistles of this period we find no trace of the *Eons* of Gnosticism. As yet heresy knew no other beings save the hierarchy of Angels revered by the Jews, and these they made use of to suit their fanciful vagaries.

power, driven like vile rabble before His triumphant chariot.¹

This theology of the Incarnation formed a body of doctrine vast enough to meet the enemy at every point and call a halt to Error. It only remained to put it into a form which would be acceptable to the Christian communities which he had not evangelized personally, nor even met face to face.² He begins adroitly, by felicitating the Colossians on the fruits which the Word of Life was producing unceasingly among them, adding, however, that ever since Epaphras had described their state of mind to him, he had not ceased praying and beseeching for them "all wisdom, all spiritual understanding, that their conduct likewise may be worthy of God."³ By this he desires to point out in veiled words that their faith was in need of purification, or at least of being forearmed against the lowering danger. He had paved the way for this from the outset, by that vivid picture of the Incarnation, wherein, as we have just seen, he had drawn in a few broad strokes his whole ideal of the Christ, His Godhead and universal Sovereignty.

After having briefly enunciated the Faith in which they had been founded, Paul adjures them to remain steadfast⁴ therein, and close their eyes to all such visionaries as would lead them astray. One of his prime grievances against these innovators is the disdainful egoism of their teachings. Like all Gnostics, they assumed to be the sole possessors of real learning, of unfathomable wisdom. To meet this sectarian spirit, Paul exalts the universality of the Gospel. This mystery of the Christ which he had been charged to preach, this he proclaims to all mankind of whatsoever station: "exhorting every man, instructing every man, in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect in Jesus Christ."⁵ "Why, then, should these haughty thinkers reserve their ideas of perfection to the

¹ Coloss. ii. 15. Ἐδευγμάτων; these vanquished and captive foes He parades before the eyes of mankind, as it were in a triumphal procession.

² Ibid., ii. 1.

⁴ Ibid., i. 23.

³ Ibid., i. 9-10.

⁵ Ibid., i. 26-28.

few initiated alone? The treasures of knowledge, which they are forever boasting of, are all to be found in a knowledge of the Christ, in Whose eyes philosophy has but a subsidiary value, while the heart enlightened by Faith is everything. Now not alone the Greek and the Jew, but even those most devoid of culture, Barbarians, Scythians,—all are called unto this one Faith.¹ Nothing indeed could be more opposed to the Gospel teaching than to make it the portion of a few chosen souls; for, if it be an eternal truth that the fulness of knowledge is, as it were, the very secret and mysterious treasury of the Christ,² then it follows that in Him this Mystery of Wisdom must ever be accessible to all.

Still more vehemently does the Apostle reproach this Heresy, because it would bring the heavenly teachings of Jesus down to the level of those philosophical dreams which Greece and the Orient were never weary of weaving, treating them as they would any one of their own baseless theories, and as though they were as perishable as the individuals from whom they might emanate. Concerning the character of this new attack, Paul is neither to be deceived, nor does he hesitate to give it its true title. It is no longer a question of faith cajoled or wandering of its own will astray, but of a "Philosophy"³ in revolt against the Gospel, and, in its assaults, borrowing its weapons from all her foes: "from human traditions and vain deceits;"⁴ "from Judaism of the baser features;"⁵ "from the shadow" of that Truth which in Jesus has taken on a

¹ Coloss. iii. 11.

² Οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως ἀπόκρυφοι, Coloss. ii. 3. Ἀπόκρυφος is a favorite expression among the Gnostics, as for that matter, are many other terms employed in this Epistle: σοφία, φῶς, σκότος, πλήρωμα, γνῶσις, ζῶή, τέλειον, κ. τ. λ. Apocrypha was a name given to the esoteric writings of their sect for which they claimed a mysterious and irresistible authority. (St. Augustine, *Contra Faust.*, xi. 2).

³ Coloss. ii. 8. Ὁ συλαγωγῶν διὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας.

⁴ Ibid. Κενὴς ἀπάτης κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

⁵ Ibid. Τὰ στοιχεῖα, literally, "the letters of the alphabet," here signifies rudimentary instruction. A sort of preparation for the reception of the truth. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, vi. 8; Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion.*, v. 19.

bodily form.¹ To the fanatical Israelite bred in Mosaism Paul had proclaimed redemption and justification through the Christ, inward and entire redemption and justification such as no legal practices could confer on him. To the Israelitish Philosopher, on the contrary, while still attributing some natural virtue to Circumcision, abstinence, the Sabbath, and the religious festivals of his race, he declares that the same Jesus has become for us the sole and immediate source of life,—a proposition which sapped their Observances at the very roots.

“All the fulness of the Godhead,” he tells them, “dwells bodily in Him. In Him you share in this fulness, in Him Who is the Head of every Principality and Power. In Him you have been circumcised with a circumcision not made by the hand of man, but which consists in the putting off of our carnal flesh; [you have been circumcised] with the circumcision of the Christ. Buried with Him in Baptism, in the same Baptism you are risen with Him, through your faith in the power of God Who has raised Him from the dead.² You were dead through your sins and the uncircumcision of your flesh; He has quickened you to life with Him, having forgiven you all your sins. He has blotted out by the precepts [of His Gospel] the obligation, the condemnation which the Law overwhelmed us withal. He has made it as though it were not, by nailing it to the Cross; and having disarmed the Principalities and the Powers, He has led them in triumph in the sight of all men, conquered by His Cross.”³

This victory demonstrates that the Christ towers, not only over the visible world, but over the invisible as well; and with Him every soul that is bound to Him by faith

¹ Coloss. ii. 17.

² To Paul's thinking the baptismal waters are like a tomb. The neophyte, once immersed therein, buries his sins of the past, his disorderly cravings, all that is of the old man, that he may rise again unto a new life. Baptism, therefore, does not simply figure forth the Death and Resurrection of the Christ, it is a communion in these Mysteries as well; a supernatural union which is the work of faith made fruitful by Charity. “Believe that God can renew your soul,” says St. John Chrysostom, “and by that very act you are renewed.” *In Epist. ad Coloss.* Homil. vi. 2.

³ Coloss. ii. 9-15.

and love is likewise exalted to the same heights. To such an one He is the Head, that "Head from Whom the whole body, drawing its life through the vessels which connect and bind all its parts, draws nourishment and increaseth with the increase of God."¹ This being so, why talk to a Christian, so closely knit to the Godhead, of "Beings" intervening between him and God, — beings independent of the Christ, — Angels, whose worship might in any wise become comparable to that due to the only Redeemer? Those that preach such vain imaginings do well to hide themselves behind the mask of humility, and declare themselves unworthy to approach God save through these "Intermediaries;" their vagaries are but "pride, puffed up by thoughts born of the flesh,"² — of fear, likewise, since they tremble at the thought of falling directly into the hands of the living God.

To escape this union with the Christ so dreaded by the natural man, inasmuch as it means his death, the heretics of Colossæ sought about for "some show of wisdom, devotion, humility,"³ borrowing them from the sects with which they were in touch. From the Essenes and the religious rites of the region round about, they adopted their abstinence and mad austerities;⁴ from the Jews, their celebrations "of Feast-days, New Moons, and Sabbaths."⁵ Futile asceticism, and void of all effect on the concupiscence of the flesh, since a real union of the heart with that of the dying Jesus can alone destroy in us the old man;⁶ empty Observances, unworthy of minds enlightened by the new Faith, because they take them back to rudiments of science, to spell out "the first letters of the alphabet."⁷ "Colossians," concludes the Apostle, "you

¹ Coloss. ii. 19.

⁴ Ibid., ii. 20-23.

² Ibid., ii. 18.

⁵ Ibid., ii. 16.

³ Ibid., ii. 23.

⁶ An austere life, without that interior spirit which should animate it, is of no value, of no relief or help from sin. The only real remedy against concupiscence is union with the Saviour, Jesus: to die with him to the world is to bear in our members and in this our body of flesh a fruitful death, whereby it is given unto us to arise with Him and in Him to take hold upon Eternal Life.

⁷ τὰ στοιχεῖα. Coloss. ii. 8.

were dead in the Christ to these primary teachings of the world; how can you let yourselves be overladen with Ordinances" so outworn? For these your prohibitions, your dread of being contaminated, — "Touch not, taste not, handle not," — all these simply bring you back into the bondage of Mosaism, to a discipline fit only for children.¹

"If then, you are risen with the Christ, seek those things which are on High, where the Christ is seated at the right hand of God. Think on things from on High, not on things of the earth; for you are dead and your life is hid with the Christ in God. When the Christ, Who is your life, shall appear, then shall you also appear in glory. Give therefore unto death the members of the earthly man that is in you, fornication, uncleanness, disorderly appetites, evil desires. . . . Put off the old man with his works and put on the new, who renews himself without ceasing to the likeness of [God] his Creator, and thus attains unto the perfect knowledge.² In this self-renewal there is no longer either Greek or Jew, circumcised or uncircumcised, Barbarian or Scythian, bond or free; the Christ is all in all."³

The counsels concerning the conduct of life with which Paul always closes his letters, in the Epistle to the Colossians take an unwonted turn. Until now they had been addressed to the whole body of believers, without bearing particularly on any class or condition; here for the most part they have in view the Christian family. This foundation of all society must have occupied the Apostle's thoughts very largely at that time, for we shall find him returning to the subject insistently in the Epistle to the Ephesians. Some incident, perhaps some irregularities in the Christian committees of Asia as reported by Epaphras, or again, not to search so far afield, it may have been the mere intercourse Paul was having with

¹ Coloss. ii. 20-21.

² *Ἐπίγνωσιν*. This word, of frequent occurrence in the latter Epistles of St. Paul, is used to designate a state of intelligence and knowledge higher than any mere science; *γνώσις* is the fulness of understanding, the pleroma which the false Gnosis in vain promised to its adepts.

³ Coloss. iii. 1-11.

the Roman world, — something, at all events, had turned his thoughts in this channel. We know, indeed, and we have been reminded of it elsewhere,¹ that the Family, the *Gens*, in the Roman state was an institution of incomparable power, but at the same time excessive in its rigor. There the father exercised absolute sway over every one and everything, — wife, children, and slaves. Hence arose those habits of orderliness and obedience which Paul could not but admire, but only on condition that he might be permitted to mitigate them; for the Christian soul, to whatever age or sex, or social state, it may belong, is entitled to a certain respect and liberty which the laws of Rome never recognized.

The Apostle needed to make but few reservations in setting before them the full truth. To wives he recommends submissiveness, but “as it is fitting in the Lord;” to husbands, a real love for their wives, without severity or harshness; to children, obedience, “that they may be well pleasing in the sight of the Lord;” to parents, not to provoke the child, or break its spirit; to slaves, to obey in all things . . . and from the heart, “not as to men, however, but neither recognizing nor serving any other master save the Lord Christ.”² To masters, authorized by social customs and even by Law, to inflict unmerciful hardships, this injunction is uttered, almost threatening in its wording: “Grant to your slaves that which is just and equitable, remembering that you also have a Master in the Heavens.”³ The same spirit, the very breath of charity, animates all these various precepts; drawing their souls to him, by inspiring in them a longing, “whatsoever they may do, whether in word or deed, to do all in the Name of the Lord Jesus.”⁴

“Put ye on, therefore, as God’s holy ones, holy and well-beloved, the bowels of mercy, kindness, humility, gentleness, long-suffering, forbearing one another, forgiving one another, if any deems himself aggrieved by his brother.

¹ *St. Peter*, chap. xvi.

² *Coloss.* iii. 18–25.

³ *Ibid.*, iv. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iii. 17.

The Christ has pardoned you, do ye likewise. And over all the rest put on the Garment of Love, which is the bond of perfectness, and let the Peace of Christ, to which you were called in one only body, rule in your hearts.”¹

Thereupon Paul took the pen in his own heavily manacled hand and appended his signature with these words: “Behold the salutation which I, Paul, add hereto with mine own hand: Remember my bonds. Grace be with you!”²

¹ Coloss. iii. 12-15.

² Ibid., iv. 18.

CHAPTER IV.

PHILEMON AND ONESIMUS.—THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

FROM Saint Paul's letter to the Colossians it is easy to detect who and what his companions were when he was composing it. In his prison at Rome, as everywhere else for that matter, there were very few converted Jews. Only four are mentioned by the Apostle: Timothy, his secretary; Aristarchus, the Thessalonian; Mark, the cousin of Barnabas, and a certain Jesus, surnamed "The Just." "Of the Circumcision these only," he adds mournfully, "are my fellow-laborers for the Kingdom of God, and have been a comfort to me."¹ As three of their number were old comrades of Saint Paul, what may we infer concerning the Israelites of Rome? On the other hand, the uncircumcision had furnished him with many active and faithful ministers: there was Luke, "the physician, dearly beloved by the Apostle; Demas, Tychicus of Asia, and Epaphras of Colossæ."² The latter, as we have seen, shared the Apostle's prison at this time, constrained thereto, perhaps, but more probably of his own choice. Does it not appear, indeed, as if, at the close of the Epistle to the Colossians, Paul is excusing himself for not having sent his letter through Epaphras, although he seems to have been entirely at liberty and in fact designated for this mission? That this disciple remains with him is due to his own affection and not to any coldness on the part of his fellow-citizens; of this Paul repeatedly assures them: "Epaphras, one of your own, a bondsman of Jesus Christ, salutes you. He is ever contending on your behalf in his prayers, that you may continue perfect

¹ Coloss. i. 1; iv. 10, 11.

² Ibid., iv. 7-12, 14.

and steadfast in performing fully what God wills of you. I bear him witness that he is working for you with all his heart, and for those in Laodicæa and Hierapolis." ¹

Tychicus, also a native of the Province of Asia, was commissioned to carry this letter to Colossæ. Paul had put great trust in this disciple, ever since he had been an eye witness of his labors during his third mission journey. In him he had found, not only a "beloved brother," but a "faithful minister of the Lord, like himself devoted to the service of God," ² and of souls. Accordingly he had entrusted him with this mission of visiting the Churches throughout the land, to learn their state, and to comfort and revive their drooping spirits.³ There was no lack of anxieties to disquiet the Apostle's mind. In Laodicæa, the most considerable of the Christian communities on the Lycus, side by side with such fervent fraternities as that which gathered at the house of Nymphas,⁴ there were others in a languishing condition. In one of these latter, so gross was the negligence of its pastor, Archippus, that Paul bids the neighboring Church of Colossæ address to him this grave warning: "Take heed to the ministry which thou hast received in the Lord, and fulfil it." ⁵ To some of these churches Tychicus was the bearer of personal letters from the Apostle;⁶ to all he was commissioned to bear news of him and communicate by word of mouth those matters of detail which it would have been imprudent to put in writing, such as the state of his trial before Cæsar's tribunal, his hopes and views concerning the future.⁷

For this mission he was given a fellow-laborer whom Paul had rescued from the very lowest surroundings in Rome. He was a slave, Onesimus by name, the property of Philemon, one of the foremost men in the Church of Colossæ. He had fled from his master's home after robbing him, and, like so many others, sought to hide his

¹ Coloss. iv. 12, 13.

² Ibid., iv. 7.

³ Ibid., iv. 7, 8.

⁴ Ibid., iv. 15.

⁵ Ibid., iv. 17.

⁶ Ibid., iv. 16.

⁷ Ibid., 7.

identity in the nameless masses which were ever thronging into the metropolis. Whether conscience-stricken at his crime or impelled by urgent want, at all events he made himself known to Epaphras, whom he had seen many a time at Philemon's residence; for where could he seek surer refuge than in the tenderheartedness of a Christian?

Paul, to whom they brought him, lost no time in using his influence over a soul which slavery had embittered and led to sin, yet without utterly depraving it. The poor fugitive was won over to the Christ, his dispositions so excellent that he was willing to do anything for the sake of right and justice. But what was right, according to the New Law? and what was the duty of such poor slaves in regard of their masters? On this question the Apostle never hesitated; he bade them obey the servile laws; for, though he recognized the fact that slavery, as a state, was contrary to Christian ideals, as conducing to the worst abuses, on the other hand he looked upon it as an institution inherent in the social fabric of antiquity, and one not to be summarily torn from it without incalculable acts of violence.¹

In his time, in fact, slaves formed half, at the very least, of the population of the Empire, while, in a majority of the great cities, they outnumbered notably the free-men.² In Rome, for instance, certain wealthy landowners possessed as many as twenty thousand, and even more.³ These servile masses, for the most part incapable of keeping public order or enjoying their liberty, had in their hands all industrial and agricultural occupations: to incite them to seek immediate emancipation would have been to shake the very foundations of society. Very different is the Church's mission on earth: into the hearts

¹ For a fuller treatment of this subject I can refer my readers to no better work than the scholarly treatise by M. Paul Allard, entitled *Les Esclaves Chrétiens*.

² See Wallon, *Histoire de l'Esclavage*, l. ii., chap. iii.; DU NOMBRE ET DE L'EMPLOI DES ESCLAVES.

³ Athenæus, vi., p. 272. See Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, vol. i., p. 166 et seq.

of men she drops those words of Jesus: "Ye are all brethren,"¹ and leaves it there to fructify, knowing that it will quietly and gently transform their customs and laws, healing the social body of the cancer which consumes it, not by steel or by fire, but by the infusion of a new life-blood.

Certainly Paul could have found no more decisive argument against slavery than this brotherhood of man; rather, to make it more emphatic, he reminds them that all believers, by their incorporation with the Christ, are not merely sons, equally heirs to all rights, all graces emanating from the same Heavenly Father, rather their union with him is so close that it approaches some sort of identity. "There is no longer either Jew or Greek, bond or free; all, all are one in Christ Jesus."² "The Christ is all in all."³ Of what account are the outward shows of existence for the believer who has once attained to this high plane of thinking? Unquestionably anything which debases man is incompatible with such a profession of faith. But serfdom does not necessarily imply a state of moral degradation; it may be but a humiliating condition of dependency more or less rigorous, and at the same time leave the soul untouched in its nobility, free and master of its true self. In that case, each irksome act of coercion does indeed purify it and exalt it above earthly things which pass away.

There was, therefore, about the condition of servitude nothing, for the time being, which deprived it of respect in the Church. In the meantime, and until the institution itself should crumble under the secret workings of the Gospel, the one thing needful was to prevent any abuse of it. This Paul provided for by reminding them, on the one hand, that labor is the law of mankind, man's dignity and power; on the other, by preaching the Christ as One who had come to us, taking on the form of a slave,⁴ "to serve, not to be served,"⁵ and to enkindle in all

¹ Matt. xxiii. 8.

² Gal. iii. 28.

³ Coloss. iii. 11.

⁴ Philip. ii. 7.

⁵ Matt. xx. 28.

hearts his lowly and gentle charity. It was in this divine flame that Paul trusted to soften the hardships of the servile code. "Ye masters, also," he said, "show some affection for your servants. Do not load them with threats, remembering that both you and they have one common Master in Heaven, and with Him there is no respect for the condition of persons."¹

With these guarantees of his rights in the Church granted to the Christian slave, the Apostle would not even advise him to try to escape from bondage: "Wast thou in slavery at the time of thy calling?" he asks; "do not disturb thyself thereat. Even though thou hast it in thy power to gain thy freedom, rather make good use of thy condition; for the slave, who has been called in the Lord, is the Lord's freedman, and likewise the freeman, who has been called, is the Christ's slave. . . . Let each one remain before God in the state wherein he was called."² Thus Paul determines the duties of the slave: not a mere resignedness to an inevitable lot, but a yielding of the will, a prompt and conscientious obedience springing from the heart, an attachment to his Master, which is born of fear and respect: "Slaves obey your masters. . . . in singleness of heart, as unto the Christ himself, not serving them only when under their eyes, as though you would but please men, but as slaves of the Christ. Serve with good-will, as bondsmen of the Lord and not of men."³

Thus Paul only sought to elevate the slave by keeping him under the yoke. But was this, then, that liberty brought into the world by the Christ, and promised to all in His name?⁴ To those especially who, like Onesimus, were under the ban of the severest laws of slavery, such words must have sounded harshly indeed. The fugitive slave knew that for him the law was merciless; that to be branded on the forehead with a red-hot iron⁵

¹ Ephes. vi. 9.

² 1 Cor. vii. 21-24.

³ Ephes. vi. 5-7.

⁴ "You shall know the Truth, and the Truth shall set you free." John viii. 32.

⁵ "Inexpugnabili litterarum nota per summam oris contumeliam inus-

was the mildest of its punishments; at his master's good pleasure he might be cast before the wild beasts in the amphitheatre, nailed to the cross, or burned alive in a garment of pitch such as Nero provided for our earliest martyrs.¹ Onesimus, undoubtedly, had no reason to fear such treatment from a Christian; but he no longer belonged to himself, since by his flight he had done violence to the right of proprietorship which Philemon possessed over him. To repair the damages he had inflicted, the law bade him surrender himself into his master's hands and place himself at his mercy. What a humiliation, and what agonies of spirit were involved in the accomplishment of this duty.

Paul's first intention was neither to refer to these weighty obligations nor to impose them upon Onesimus. Realizing to the full what invaluable assistance this zealous convert could render him, his only thought, at first, was to retain him near him; indeed he knew Philemon's heart too well to have any hesitation about using anything belonging to this disciple, as if it were his own. On reflection, however, he deemed it more conformable with the courtesy and refinement of true charity to do nothing in the premises without asking his consent. Accordingly, he persuaded Onesimus to return to his master and to take advantage of Tychicus' departure to reach Asia. Although the companionship of this disciple would act as a perfect safeguard, nevertheless, to still further reassure him, Paul dictated to Timothy the following lines and intrusted them to the fugitive slave for delivery. How could Philemon help being moved and yielding to this touching appeal? —

“Paul, a prisoner of Jesus Christ, and the brother Timothy, to Philemon the well beloved and our fellow-laborer, and to Appia,² our sister, to Archippus, our comrade

tus.” Valerius Maximus, vi. viii. 7; Cf. Plautus, *Casina*, ii. vi. 293; Martial, viii. lxxv. 9; Cicero, *De Officiis*, ii. 7, etc.

¹ Aulus Gellius, v. 14; Plautus, *Casina*, ii. vii. 330; *Miles Gloriosus*, ii. iv. 361; Petronius, *Satyricon*, 53; Plautus, *Captivi*, iii. iv. 531.

² Appia's name is so closely linked with that of Philemon that in all

in arms, and to the Church which is at thy house : Grace be to you all and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ !

“ Being mindful of thee without ceasing in my prayers, I give thanks unto my God for that I learn what is thy faith toward the Lord Jesus and thy love for all the saints ; how the generosity born of that faith is made manifest unto all beholders by so many good works accomplished in thy house,¹ for the love of Jesus Christ. Thy charity hath filled me with joy, because that the bowels of the saints have been rejoiced through thee, brother. So this is why, although I should have a perfect right in the Christ to enjoin upon thee that which is thy duty, I prefer rather in the name of charity to beseech thee, as the aged Paul, yea and somewhat more just now, as the prisoner of Jesus Christ.

“ I beseech thee, then, for my son, whom I have begotten on my bonds, for Onesimus here, who in days past was hardly at all useful² to thee, but who now may become so, both to thee and to me. Him I send back to thee as mine own flesh and blood. I had thought at first of keeping him with me, that he might serve me in thy stead in the fetters of the Gospel ; but I was unwilling to do anything without thy decision, that the good deed which I suggest to thee may not be constrained, but come from thine own good-will. Perchance Onesimus has been parted from thee but for a time that thou mightst recover him forever, no longer as a slave, but as one who, from a slave, has become a dearly beloved brother. This he is to me ; how much more ought he to be one unto thee, both according to the flesh and in the Lord. If, then, thou reckonest me as one closely knit

likelihood we are correct in concluding that she was his wife. That Archippus was their son is rather doubtful. As we have seen, this faithful disciple of his was a minister in the Church of Colossæ, or in that of Laodiceæ (*St. Paul and his Missions*, chap. x.) ; the *Apostolic Constitutions* (vii. 46) go further and state that he was Bishop of the latter city. This high function of his or some other of like importance is sufficient reason that he should be mentioned by Paul in a greeting that was addressed not merely to the two persons to whom he sends the letter, but to the whole fraternity which was wont to gather in their house.

¹ “ Non dicit *in te*, sed *in vobis*. Per hoc significat domesticam Philemonis ecclesiam, bonorum operum ejus adjutricem.” *Estius in loco*.

² Here the Apostle makes a neat play upon the name *Onesimus*, which in Greek means “useful.”

to thee, receive him as if he were myself. Whatsoever he has wronged thee of, or if he owes thee anything, set it against my account."

Paul meant by this to furnish Onesimus with a veritable letter of credit; accordingly, he wrote these few words himself:—

"I, PAUL, WRITE THIS WITH MINE OWN HAND. I MYSELF WILL REPAY IT, WITHOUT REMINDING THEE OF ALL THAT THOU ON THY SIDE OWEST ME."

Handing the pen back to Timothy he closed with these words:—

"Yea, brother, may I receive of thee this joy in the Lord. Comfort my offspring in the Christ. This I write thee with full confidence in thy submissiveness; I know that thou wilt do even more than I say. Make ready a lodging for me also, for I trust that, thanks to your prayers, I shall be restored to you.

"Epaphras, my fellow-prisoner in Christ Jesus, Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, and Luke, my fellow-laborers, salute thee. May the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ be with thy spirit."

This letter and the Epistle to the Colossians were not the only ones which Paul confided to the care of Tychicus. He wrote another to the Church of Laodiceæ, at the same time counselling the Colossians to procure a copy of it and have it read at their meetings.¹ This document has disappeared, but in its stead we possess another of great importance, written at the same time and intrusted to the same messengers. Though known as the Epistle to the Ephesians, it does not appear to have been addressed exclusively to the members of that community. It is to be regarded rather as a circular letter which Tychicus was charged to deliver to the various Churches he was about to visit.

Numerous indications combine to prove this ecumenical

¹ Coloss. iv. 16.

destination of the so-called Epistle to the Ephesians. Therein the Apostle expresses himself constantly in general terms, and without sending greetings to any one, either at the opening or close, as had always been his wont; there is no special counsel of any kind in the body of the work; no allusion to any particular state of the Church. Paul seems never to have seen or evangelized the congregations he is writing to.¹ Would he have written in this fashion, if he had meant to address it especially to those Ephesians whom, "during three long years, he had not ceased, by day and by night, to exhort with tears"?² Could he have failed to remind them of his long sojourn in their city, or at least to mention Timothy whom all knew so well? Knowing as he did that their Church had been recruited from the ranks of Gentiles and Jews alike, would his mind have been absorbed in questions which concerned Pagan converts alone?

The title of the letter merely mentions, as the persons to whom it is addressed, "the Saints and the faithful . . . who are (in Ephesus)." ³ Now we do not find these last words "*in Ephesus*" in two of the most ancient manuscripts.⁴ Saint Basil declares that he did not come across them in any of those at his disposal.⁵ What conclusion are we to draw from all these facts except that the superscription "*in Ephesus*" was not placed by Saint Paul over the original, of which many copies were made and intrusted to Tychicus? The address was for the time left blank, leaving it to this disciple to insert the name of any Church he might visit. But as Ephesus, the metropolis of these Asiatic Churches, was brought into closer contact with foreign travel than the rest, it so happened, in all probability, that the copy which bore its name attained the widest circulation and thus perpetuated this title, "Epistle to the Ephesians," under which the

¹ Ephes. i. 15; iii. 2 *et seq.*, etc.

² Acts xx. 31.

³ Ephes. i. 1.

⁴ MSS. of the Vatican and of Sinai.

⁵ St. Basil, *Contr. Eunom.* ii. 19.

letter came to be known. Of course, this is, after all, only an hypothesis; but it fits in so perfectly with the peculiarities of the Epistle that it has naturally gained wide credit in our day.¹ Furthermore, we only enhance the teaching of this letter by treating it as an encyclical.

Here Paul has in view that section of the Church, then the most active and probably most considerable in numbers, which for a long time to come was destined to shed the greatest lustre upon Christianity. The weak point in this body of believers which had increased so rapidly that it already embraced the whole Province of Asia, was that its members had not drawn their supernatural life from the teachings of the Apostle himself. Begotten in the Faith by his disciples, they did not possess that fullness of grace and truth which elsewhere enabled the newly converted to withstand any contagion of error; consequently they lent a more or less willing ear to the philosophical vagaries then current in their surroundings.

Knowing under what form, and just how far, this malady had spread in Colossæ, Paul was enabled to apply remedies for each symptom. But he had no such means of informing himself concerning the other Christian congregations of Asia. All that he could learn from Epaphras was that similar perils threatened the faithful there also, and that the most insidious of all emanated from the Jewish inhabitants of the region. This ignorance of local circumstances led him to rise to a higher plane than ever, in the letter now before us; since, as he could not trace their errors step by step and in all their windings, he set himself to the task of confronting them in all its splendor with that dogma which was more and more absorbing all his thoughts, — Jesus lives in the souls of

¹ Very many Catholic scholars of note have adopted it. Hug, *Einleitung*, ii. pp. 406 *et seq.*; Glaire, *Introduction*, vol. vi., pp. 103 *et seq.*; Valroger, *Introduction aux Livres du Nouveau Testament*, vol. ii., pp. 272 *et seq.*; A. Maier, *Einleitung*, pp. 309 *et seq.*; Lamy, *Introduct.*, ii. p. 354; Bisping, *Exeget. Handb.*, vi. 2, p. 8; Guillemon, *Clef des Épîtres de St. Paul*, vol. ii. pp. 9 and 10. By far the majority of exegetical writers among Protestants hold this opinion.

men and perpetuates this divine Life by the operation of the Church.

We already know what sort of adversaries Paul had to encounter in this struggle. Not men like the Judaizers of Syria and Galatia, with their narrow and far from enticing formalism, but Israelites versed in philosophic subtleties, expert in the art of dazzling men's minds by that Mysticism which they valued far more highly than the teachings of Christianity. This lowering of Jesus to a plane on a level with their human fancies is, to the Apostle's mind, an intolerable blasphemy. He spurns it and asserts that in Faith we have the loftiest revelation which God has given to the world ; without its pale there is no salvation, in it all that heart can desire, — justification, sanctification, blessedness, world-wide redemption from sin. All things are contained in the Incarnate Word, and in such abundance that our daily speech is powerless to utter "the unfathomable riches of the Christ."¹ For this are required a new terminology and unwonted figures of speech, such as we meet with here in the writings of Paul.² Nay, it required something more than even his genius, — a tongue attuned to the Thought Divine. And hence it is that, in the Apostle's efforts to depict Jesus as He had been revealed to him, his style becomes more involved than ever, while incidents and digressions so crowd upon each other that the main idea is well-nigh lost sight of altogether.

Hence the obscure passages in this letter, which are due, as we shall see, to the depth and inexhaustible abundance of its thoughts. And, notwithstanding, these shadows disappear before the gaze of such as scrutinize them humbly ; to these the Apostle's design stands revealed in all its majestic development, — namely, to confront the anti-Christian speculations of the Asiatics with that Divine Mystery which was destined to confound them, — the Incarnation, "Christ's love, surpassing all knowledge [all Gnosis], giving unto us God, in His Ful-

¹ Ephes. iii. 8.

² De Wette, *Ephes. Einleit.*, p. 319.

ness,"¹ rendering all other revelation henceforth superfluous, nay more, impossible.

Prayer had grown to be Paul's very life, the unbroken occupation of his soul, whenever pastoral cares did not demand his attention for earthly things. And now it was with a mind absorbed in God that he dictated this letter to the Ephesians; one which, he might well say, is naught but an act of thanksgiving to the Father who gives us every perfect gift in His Incarnate Son.

"Blessed be God, the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who has poured down upon us all manner of spiritual blessings from the heavens!"²

From all eternity He has chosen us in the Christ, unto the noblest of all ends, that we may become "spotless and holy in His sight in love."³ Thereby He has predestined us to become, through our union with Christ, His adopted children, and by the Blood of Jesus to obtain redemption and forgiveness of sins.⁴ Thus before the Apostle's inward vision the eternal counsel of God seemed to take shape, as an act of will destined to remain a mystery until the hour when, the time He had set fulfilled, this Revelation was vouchsafed us: "all things have been united in the Christ, yea, both that which is of Heaven and that which is of earth."⁵

Whoever, by Faith, welcomes "this Word of Life, the Glad Tidings of our salvation,"⁶ that man is stamped by the hand of God "with the seal of the Spirit promised"⁷

¹ Γινῶναι . . . τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν τῆς γνώσεως ἀγάπην τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα πληρωθῇτε εἰς πᾶν τὸ πλῆρωμα τοῦ θεοῦ. Ephes. iii. 19.

² Ephes. i. 3.

³ "Before Him," in other words so imbued with holiness down to the very depths of our being that even the eye of God sees nothing there save what is pure; consequently tenderly united unto Him "in the love which is God." (1 John iv. 8), wherefrom, as in an ocean of grace, every true believer draws new life and breath; for the Christian there is no perfectness save in and through this Love.

⁴ Ephes. i. 5, 7.

⁵ Ibid., i. 10. Literally in Him are all things condensed, summed up, linked together as unto the sole Head of all creation: Ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ.

⁶ Ephes. i. 13.

⁷ Ibid.

by Jesus. Now this spirit once poured into the believing soul by Grace is its surety that it shall inherit Heaven.¹

In painting the picture of the universal redemption, Paul is moved by a peculiar sentiment of mingled joy and tenderness for the Church of Asia, since he is well aware of "its faith in the Lord Jesus, and its love for all the Saints."²

"I cease not to give thanks for you in my prayers," he tells them, "beseeching the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Glory,³ to grant you the Spirit of Wisdom and of Light to know Him; that He may enlighten the eyes of your heart to know what is the hope whereunto you are called, how great are the riches of glory prepared for the Saints, how surpassing is the grandeur of the power which He works within us who believe. The strength of that might and that power He has shewn forth in the Christ, by raising Him from the dead, seating Him on His own right hand in Heaven, above every Principality and Power and Might and Domination, above every name which is named, not only in this present age, but in the ages that are to come; He has put all things under His feet, and given Him to be Head over all things in the Church which is His body; the fulness of Him fills all in all."⁴

While you were dead in sin, he continues, you were walking in the ways of the world, as also you, Jews, delivered over to the concupiscence of the flesh, even as were we by nature children of wrath.⁵

"But God Who is rich in mercy, constrained by the great love He bears us, even when we were dead in sin, restored us to life in the Christ . . . has raised us up with Him,"⁶

¹ Ephes. i. 14.

² Ibid., i. 15.

³ Here St. Paul uses the term "Father of Glory" in speaking of the God and Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ in order to emphasize the fact that the only true glory, which is that of the Divinity, shone forth resplendent in the Humanity of the Christ.

⁴ Ephes. i. 16-23.

⁵ Ibid., ii. 1-3.

⁶ Here Paul is speaking principally of the resurrection unto life of the Soul: that of the body is a secondary consideration to his thinking; it is a consequence of the spiritual resurrection that thus the whole man be born again unto life.

seated us in Heaven in Jesus Christ, that He might make manifest unto the ages to come, through His kindness unto us in Christ Jesus, the surpassing riches of His Grace.”¹

But Paul is not so wrapped up in this theological exposition of Our Lord's Mission as to leave out of his Epistle the theme of his earliest strifes, the absolute gratuitousness of Grace. He is careful to impress this fundamental dogma on the minds of the Asiatic members who were by origin Gentiles, and to reiterate it as urgently to them as to the Judaizers of Syria and Galatia. In the grand scheme of Salvation, what place have these newcomers? What are they in the eyes of Israel, which, rebellious though it be, is none the less God's chosen race? “A carnal people,” “aliens to the covenants of the promise, without a Messiah, without hope, without God in this world.”² But, now, through Jesus alone, and by the power of His Blood, they who were once afar off have been brought near.³

“For this is our peace,” says Paul, “He Who has made the two people one, Who has broken down the wall of separation, Who in His flesh has destroyed the enmity that parted them, — that Law weighted with so many precepts; that so out of both peoples He might create⁴ in Himself one new man.⁵ . . . Therefore is He come, publishing the Glad Tidings of peace to you that were afar off, and peace to them that were near: through Him we both have access to the Father in the fellowship of one Spirit.⁶ . . . For this cause I bend my knee before the Father, the Chief and Head of the whole household, in Heaven and on earth; that, according to the riches of His glory He may strengthen you

¹ Ephes. ii. 4-7.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. 13.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 11, 12.

⁴ Again and again St. Paul returns to this thought, — that our redemption is a new creation and entire regeneration, which transforms us into the handiwork of Christ: we are His workmanship created in Christ Jesus to do good works, which God has prepared aforehand, that “we should walk therein.” Ephes. i. 10. “You have learned . . . to put on the new man, created after God's likeness in the righteousness and holiness of the truth.” *Ibid.*, iv. 24.

⁵ Ephes. ii. *Ibid.*, 15.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii. 17, 18.

in might by His Spirit, in so far as concerns your inner man; that so the Christ may dwell in your hearts by Faith, and that you may be rooted and founded¹ in love. Would that you might comprehend, with all the Saints, somewhat of the breadth, the length, the height, and the depth of this Mystery, and know the love of Christ which passeth all knowledge, that you may be filled therewith even unto the fulness of God Himself. Now unto Him Who, by the Power which works within us,² can do infinitely above all that we ask or think, unto Him be glory in the Church, through Christ Jesus, from generation to generation, Amen.”³

The last words of this prayer, which mention Jesus and the Church in the same breath, show us what a deep hold the latter had taken upon the Apostle's mind in his meditations. Indeed, the only way to prevent such lapses in doctrine as were now disquieting him, was to provide for some definite constitution of the Hierarchy. At first, it is true, the teachings of the Apostles, and in the absence of the Twelve, the abundance of spiritual gifts had sufficed to forestall any such aberrations; but already this early fervor was beginning to cool. Grace, which at the outset had endowed their souls with the perfect manhood of Christianity, now that they were no longer sufficiently devoid of self-seeking to be freely wrought upon, could breed but infants in the supernatural order; and so the Asiatic Christians, like many in our day, were drifting along, “tossed about, blown hither and thither by every wind of doctrine, falling a prey to the trickiness of men and their cunning devices to lead them astray into crooked ways.”⁴ There was urgent need of some visible, divinely constituted authority to exercise its powers without any intermission; in a word, the Church alone could

¹ These two figurative expressions probably meant to recall the imagery employed by the Saviour to depict His Church: “Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church.” Matt. xvi. 18. “I am the stock of the vine, you the branches.” John xv. 4. To these images, as we shall see shortly, Paul preferred that of the human body.

² Manifestly this power is that of the Holy Ghost, poured into our hearts through grace.

³ Ephes. iii. 14-21.

⁴ Ibid., iv. 14.

keep these dreamers in the unity of the one Faith and majestically reiterate the Apostle's words: "You are one body and one spirit, even as you were called to share the common hope. There is but one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one only God, Father of all, Who is above all, amid all, and within us all."¹

This Church, with which Paul's thoughts are occupied in the Epistle to the Ephesians, is no mere creature of his fancy, no phantom of power; she lives, speaks, and acts,—she is Jesus, Jesus evermore pouring forth and perpetuating His life within the body of the faithful. All that is wrought by the Church is Jesus' doing, and all that Jesus does is done through the Church. Figures and images multiply in the Apostle's mind when he endeavors to illustrate this Unity. The one hallowed by the Master's own expression occurs most naturally to him,—the Church rises before him as "a holy Temple . . . God's Household, built upon the foundation of the Apostles and the Prophets," yet owing all its stability to "Jesus, its Cornerstone."²

There was another type, however, which to his taste shadowed forth this Divine Unity yet more completely, and to this he reverts again and again. The Christ is the Head of the regenerated world; the Church is His body; all true believers His members,³ drawing from their Divine Head both strength and action. He receives, then, without stint, for there is no one of His gifts which the Church would not shower on us: His glorified Humanity, His union with the Father, the abundance of His Spirit, all He possesses is given to them. He makes the Church His other self, prolonging and developing His life within her so unstintingly that Paul does not hesitate to call this mystical body of Jesus "the fulness of Him Who fills all in all."⁴ By virtue of this union with Christ, the authority and the workings of the Church cover the entire domain

¹ Ephes. iv. 4-6.

² Ibid., ii. 20, 21.

³ 1 Cor. vi. 15; x. 17; xii. 12-27; Rom. xii. 4, 5.

⁴ Ephes. i. 23.

of Him Who beholds beneath His feet the whole wide world, matter, mankind, even the Angels themselves.¹

Nor was it enough to exhibit the Church invested with this panoply of power; it was of the highest importance to show through what organs the Christ speaks and acts in her. We have already seen how in the first outpourings of spiritual graces the Holy Spirit, taking possession at will of some one or another of the disciples, by means of these inspired instruments instructed, counselled, and even directed the Christian communities.² But now the time had come to concentrate in a few hands the authority thus diffused. Accordingly the Apostle, though not as yet giving to the Hierarchy the determined form which we find in the letters to Timothy and Titus, proceeds already to restrict to certain offices, which he designates by name, the right of speaking in the Saviour's stead. The lengthy list of spiritual gifts found in the Epistle to the Corinthians is given in a very much shortened form in his message to the Ephesians;³ aside from the Apostolate — centre and source of all power — it comprehends no offices save such as make for the maintenance in the Church of pure teaching and orderly discipline. "The prophets, evangelists, pastors, doctors," labor solely for "the edification of the body of Jesus Christ,"⁴ and they do not attain "to the state of perfect manhood, to the fulness which Christ" must needs have in the Church, save by unity of faith and action.⁵ And in order that Charity, whence this increase is derived, should really be operative in the mystical body of Christ, it is necessary that while the diverse parts of the organism remain bound together and well adjusted, life should likewise circulate freely through all the vessels.⁶ Only in such harmony "this bond of peace,"⁷ "fulfilling the truth in love, can

¹ Ephes. iii. 10.

² *St. Paul and His Missions*, chap. viii.

³ 1 Cor. xii. 6-11, 28; Ephes. iv. 11.

⁴ Ephes. iv. 11, 12.

⁵ *Εἰς τὴν ἐνότητά τῆς πίστεως . . . εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον, εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ.* Ephes. iv. 13.

⁶ Ephes. iv. 16.

⁷ *Ibid.*, iv. 3.

we grow up in all things in the Christ which is our Head.”¹

The practical counsels with which the letter closes are merely, as is fitting in an encyclical, general precepts of conduct. Probably his remarks on immorality and wine-bibbing² were directed at failings common throughout the province of Asia, especially among those false teachers who were leading the Churches of this region astray. Paul puts his disciples on their guard against the foolish vaporings of these men.

“Have no dealings with them,” he says; “you were sometimes darkness, now you are light in the Lord. Walk as children of the light. Now, the fruit of the light consists in all goodness, righteousness, truth.³ . . . Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but condemn them, for it is a shame even to speak of the things which these men do in secret.”⁴

Here the Apostle is alluding in veiled terms to the immorality which he had discovered in these innovators, and which he was soon to denounce openly:⁵ wherefore he defies them to stand forth as they are⁶ and display themselves in that light which searches all things, in the sight of any Christian “clothed in the new man, who is created according to God in the righteousness and holiness of truth.”⁷ As for their chimera of a perfection and revelation superior to Christianity, he is content to contrast theirs with the sublime calling of the believers.

“Be ye imitators of God, as you are His dearly beloved children, and walk in love, as the Christ has loved us and has given Himself for us, an Offering and a Sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savor.”⁸

¹ Ephes. iv. 15.

² Ibid., iv. 19; v. 3-12, 18.

³ All these expressions, darkness, light, children of light, fruits of light, so common among the Gnostics, were probably as much in use among the Theosophists of Asia.

⁴ Ephes. v. 7-12.

⁵ 1 Tim. i. 19; iv. 1-3; vi. 3-5; 2 Tim. ii. 17; iii. 1-9; Tit. i. 11-16.

⁶ Ephes. v. 13.

⁷ “Righteousness” here seems to designate a perfect equilibrium of all the parts, all the faculties of the soul; “holiness” the perfection of the virtues in these faculties.

⁸ Ephes. v. 1, 2.

The attention paid to family duties in the Epistle to the Colossians is to be noted again here. Again the Apostle dwells upon the mutual obligations of children and parents, slaves and masters,¹ man and wife; but he speaks in the same lofty tone which distinguishes the Epistle to the Ephesians throughout. Amid his deepest speculations we have seen how the idea of the Church, with which Paul's mind was then filled, dominates every other thought. So, then, we need feel no surprise to find that when passing to moral applications he can think of no more perfect model for the union of Christian couples than the union of Jesus with this Church.

"The husband is the head of the wife," he says, "as the Christ is the Head of the Church, even as He is its Saviour. Therefore, as the Church is subject unto the Christ, so let the wives be to their husbands in all things. And you, husbands, love your wives as the Christ has loved His Church and given Himself to death for her, that He might sanctify her, purifying her in the baptism of water by the word of truth,² that so she might appear before Him, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing, but holy and irreproachable."

Her quality as the Bride of Christ best indicates the free choice which Jesus has made of the Church, His loving forethought and tenderness for her. This Paul delights in dwelling upon. Nevertheless, as this glorious title does not sufficiently declare their close, their complete Union, he returns to his favorite image; he adds that the Christ by espousing the Church has made it literally and for all time His own body, "bone of His bone, flesh of His flesh,"³ "two in the one same flesh."⁴ This prophetic utterance had been verified but imperfectly in Adam and Eve, their union being but the conjunction of two beings.

¹ Ephes. vi. 1-9.

² The sacramental words, which when joined to the pouring of the Water, the matter of Baptism, regenerates the true believer. "Detrahe verbum et quid est aqua nisi aqua? Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum." St. Augustine, *In Joan.*, Tract. lxxx. 3.

³ Gen. ii. 23, 24.

⁴ Ephes. v. 31.

In Jesus and the Church, "this great Sacrament," the mystery of love, is consummated, and realizes actual oneness, unity. In the Church there is no personality,¹ no distinct life, no action, no utterance, save as Jesus lives again in her and through her.²

Since, as has been said, Paul had no particular adversaries in mind, he was not obliged in this letter, as in the preceding ones, to descend into the lists, in order to meet the foe at close quarters; consequently his thought continued its flight in those serene heights where it was wont to soar, afar from the noisy clamor of the arena. Before closing, however, he realized the urgent need of reminding his Christian flocks of Asia that this was no time for indolence and a feeling of security; the Spirit of Evil, the Prince of Darkness, Satan,³ was lulling them with foolish dreams to which they were lending a far too ready belief. They must needs rouse themselves, to arms! Beat back the foe!

The equipment of the soldier on guard over Paul fur-

¹ Here it is a question of the Church considered as an ethical person united with the Christ, and not as a collection of human beings, each having his own physical life and proper activity; a life and activity which can be attributed, in a rigorous sense, to Jesus Christ alone.

² "The Church, in so far as She is the Spouse, belongeth unto Jesus Christ by His own choice; the Church, in so far as She is the body, belongeth to Jesus Christ by a most intimate inworking of the Holy Spirit of God. Therewith by the pledging of Heavenly promises the Mystery of Her election is made manifest in Her title of Spouse; and the mystery of their Unity, perfected by the infusion of the Spirit, appears in the expression, Her body. The latter gives us to understand how entirely the Church belongeth unto Jesus Christ; the title Spouse gives us to understand that She had been a stranger unto Him and that it was out of His own choice that He sought Her out. Thus the name of Spouse implies their unity through love and through free will; and the name body implies that his unity is natural; so that in the unity of the body there would seem to be implied something most intimate, and in the Unity of the Spouse something most sensitive and tender. But at bottom it is all one and the same; Jesus Christ hath loved the Church and hath chosen Her to be His Spouse; He hath consummated His marriage with the Church and hath made Her His body . . . thus the Unity of body is the final seal whereby Her title of Spouse is confirmed. Praise be to God for the welding together of these ever adorable truths!" Bossuet, *Lettre iv. à une Demoiselle de Metz*, xxxii.

³ Ephes. vi. 11, 12.

nished him with details of the divine armor wherewith he wished to array his disciples: "about the loins the girdle of truth,¹ for your breastplate righteousness."² "Have your feet shod,"³ the Apostle proceeds, to protect them from the roughness of the roads, and thereby to be ever alert and tireless. At the least signal the legionary starts up prepared to march; and this instant eagerness of the soldier at the battle-call, this the Christian should show for the Gospel of Peace, for the victories long since sung of by Isaias: "How lovely on the mountains are the feet of the bearers of the Good News, the messengers of Peace."⁴ "Above all," adds Paul, "take the shield of Faith,⁵ whereby the fiery darts of the wicked shall be broken and extinguished. For helmet, take ye the hope of salvation,"⁶ — in other words, the assurance of victory. Nothing is more effectual than this steadfast confidence to prevent all wavering and fear, to make one master of one's self, clear-headed, with that just and calm vision which always wins the day.

Paul puts but two weapons of offence into the hands of his warriors: "the Word of God" as their sword, — "the Sword of the Spirit," — but, above all, prayer. "Call upon God," he concludes, "through the Spirit and at all times . . . watching thereunto in all perseverance. Pray for all the Saints, and for me likewise; that it may be given unto me to open my mouth boldly, and to preach openly the mystery of the Gospel, whereof I am the ambassador loaded with chains; (pray) that I may speak boldly as I ought."⁷

¹ To gird his loins in order to present a sturdy and steadfast figure was the soldier's first thought: to show one's self in all things true, loyal, and honest is the very foundation of Christianity, without which no virtue is aught save a delusion and a snare.

² This piece of armor protects the vital parts of the body: in like manner the sum total of virtues which makes a soul righteous in Christ clothes it with a Divine Power, and guards it from every deadly wound.

³ Ephes. vi. 15.

⁴ Is. lii. 7.

⁵ Ephes. vi. 16.

⁶ The figure under this form, when used again in the first letter to the Thessalonians, v. 8, is clearer than in the more concise expression in this Epistle, "Take the helmet of salvation."

⁷ Ephes. vi. 17-20.

The last words, set as a signature by the Apostle at the end of his letter, are a supreme appeal for Union in the Faith, a supreme warning against those who would corrupt it: "Grace be with all those who love Our Lord Jesus Christ, preserving them from all corruption."¹

¹ Ephes. vi. 24.

CHAPTER V.

SAINT PAUL'S DELIVERANCE. — THE WORK OF SAINT LUKE.

Two years had dragged along since the day the Centurion Julius delivered Paul over to the Prefect of the Prætorium. So far as we can discover, the very same combination of circumstances which then saved the Apostle from summary execution was now become the cause of his prolonged detention. The Jews of Jerusalem, whose attention had been diverted from him as soon as he had quitted the shores of Palestine, sent no one to Rome to press the charge; even Poppæa, their proselyte, although all-powerful at that stage of his imprisonment, was not solicited to move against the captive. The negligence of Israel alone preserved Paul during the two years in which he was left to the mercy of Nero and an immoral woman.

On the other hand, what could the court cognizant of the case do, except await the witnesses for the prosecution, without whom no accused person could be tried? In the present instance a long delay was inevitable, since the accusers must journey, not only from Judæa, but from the scattered Jewish communities which the bill of indictment undoubtedly accused the Apostle of disturbing by his ministerial work.¹

Nevertheless, since for this a delay of two years seemed amply sufficient, at its expiration the conclusion forced

¹ "The appellant must needs obtain from the judge in the first instance certain *litteræ dimissoriæ* or *Apostoli*; that is to say, a brief destined to make known the cause of appeal, and accompanied by the documents in the case." (*Digest*. xlix. 6, Paul, *Sent.*, v. 34;) Daremberg, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, APPELLATIO.

itself upon them that the prosecution had failed by default. Little as they may have been versed in Jewish affairs, wherein hatred and fanaticism played so prominent a part, such a conclusion of the whole business would surprise no one. The governors of Judæa knew precisely what to think of the sincerity of his accusers. In most of the denunciations of Paul, both Felix and Festus had been able to discern nothing but a blind and furious persecution, in no way justified by the facts. The Roman tribunal soon began to lean to the same view; for this Imperial Court of Appeals was composed of experts perfectly cognizant of the agitations and controversies going on in the whole world, even of the religious quarrels of Israel.¹ Elsewhere we have seen how the Apostle's captivity had not hampered his ministry, but that he preached Jesus continually, — had even made his Master known and loved in the palace of the Cæsars.²

Through his new brethren in the Christ, he became aware of the favorable sentiments of his judges, and from this fact conceived such a certitude of his speedy release that, in writing to Philemon, he begs him to prepare for him a lodging-place in some Christian community in Asia.³ Nor was this confidence deceived. In the spring of 64 the Court of Appeals quashed Paul's indictment and ordered his release. It was high time to save him. Only a few months later Nero's fury was enkindled against the Church of Rome and worked its devastation.

¹ Mommsen, *Romisches Staatsrecht*, vol. ii. pp. 948-952. The court before which Paul appeared was a Council of Justice which the Emperor, in common with all Roman magistrates, kept in his service in order to enlighten himself in the exercise of his judicial functions. Although this body was not then so perfectly organized as it was later under the Antonines, it was composed, even at this date, of a chosen few (Dion Cassius, lxxvi. 17) over whom the Emperor, or his delegate, presided, their sessions being held sometimes in the Palace, sometimes in the Forum. The president stated the questions; the counsellors handed down their opinions, generally based on the brief, whereafter the Emperor gave decision; but the latter hardly ever did anything except sanction their judgment, — that is, in all cases where neither his passions nor his caprices were at stake.

² Philip. i. 13; iv. 22.

³ Philem. 22.

The Apostle's eyes had been so fixed upon Asia during the latter days of his imprisonment, as to make us infer that as soon as he was liberated he would turn his steps thitherward. However, his plan, so long cherished, of evangelizing Spain returned to his mind,¹ and so insistently that he decided to accomplish it without delay. Thereby, doubtless, he conceived that he was fulfilling the command given him by the Lord, "I have set thee up to be a light unto the Gentiles, to bear salvation unto the ends of the earth."² Spain being one of the border lines of the Roman world, Paul believed himself bound to visit it.

Some may be surprised, perhaps, that I should weave into the tissue of history a fact which is based solely on an intention expressed in one short line written by the Apostle, and with no contemporary testimony to uphold it. That I so readily accept it is because the authority of later traditions testifying to this missionary journey seem to me weighty enough to make it a certainty. Indeed, only thirty years after Paul's death, Pope Saint Clement reminds the Corinthians that the Apostle had preached "on the confines of the West;"³ and in the next century (about 170) a list of the Sacred Books, compiled in Rome, mentions in express terms the mission to Spain, and in a manner which leaves no room for doubt as to the meaning attributed by the Roman Church to the words of its third Bishop.⁴ Thereafter, this incident in Paul's ministry is everywhere believed and given out as historical.⁵ Such a succession of witnesses, going back to the first centuries,

¹ Rom. xv. 28.

² Acts xiii. 47.

³ 'Επὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δόσεως ἐλθόν. St. Clement of Rome, Ep. ad. Cor. 5.

⁴ *Muratorian Fragment*, lines 37 and 38, "... sed profectio Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis . . ." This fragment of a Latin manuscript in the Ambrosian Library (Cod. 101) contains a canon of the books of the New Testament which in all likelihood was once part of some apologetical work composed in Rome about 170 at the latest. It was published for the first time by Muratori in his *Antiquitates Italicæ* (iii. 251 *et seq.*); hence its name.

⁵ St. Jerome, *In Is.* ii. 10; St. Athanasius, *Ad Dracont.*, iv.; St. Epiphanius, *Adv. Hæres.*, xxvii. 6; St. John Chrysostom, *In 2 Tim.* Hom. x. 3.

has had its weight with even the radical criticism of our times. To the thinking of even the most sceptical, Saint Paul's journey into Spain scarcely admits of a doubt.¹ It would ill become us to be more exigent than they.

Unfortunately the fact of his having labored there is the only advantage gained; not a detail has come down to us concerning the Apostle's ministry on this frontier of the ancient world. All that we can infer is that the Apostle must have made the journey by means of the coasting barks which plied their trade from one end of the Mediterranean to the other. If he adopted this usual route of travel, he could not have passed along the shores of Gaul without touching somewhere. At one or another of these ports he must have landed in France, consecrated it by his prayers, and obtained for it that it should become what it is to this day, a land of Apostles, a most Christian folk.

God removed Paul from Rome on the eve of that cruel trial which was about to afflict this Church. He removed him as he had kept Peter away likewise, in order that these two Apostles might have time to finish their work. Nevertheless their little flock was not to be left untended. According to all appearances several of Paul's disciples remained there.² But, most important of all, they had in their hands a Book, wherefrom they could breathe again the faith, the teaching, the very spirit of the Apostle to the Gentiles. Thereby I allude to the work which Saint Luke put the finishing touches to under his master's eyes during the last few days of his imprisonment. These inspired pages are so clearly linked with the preaching of Saint Paul that, to show how far they seconded it, we must needs enter into certain details, and for this purpose drop the thread of our narrative for a while.

The beginnings of our Faith are retraced by Saint Luke in two books of a great and simple beauty. The Life of the Saviour is told in the first; in the second, that of the

¹ "Weighty reasons induce us to believe that he carried out his project of a journey to Spain." Renan, *Antéchrist*, p. 106.

² Hebr. xiii. 23.

Church, up to the imprisonment of Saint Paul. There is nothing to indicate that the author had had in mind this twofold picture from the outset. His original purpose, probably, went no further than to put in writing the oral Gospel in the form which the Apostle of the Gentiles was wont to deliver it to his congregations; in other words, to repeat what Saint Matthew had done for the Christians of Jerusalem, and Saint Mark for the disciples of Peter. The charm and success of this first painting suggested of itself a longing for a companion work upon the Acts of the Apostles, and thus gave rise to the work which bears that name.

That both works came from the same pen, there is no doubt;¹ throughout we find the same style, the same favorite turns of speech, the same manner in composition.² The author introduces himself in the book of the Acts as the companion of Paul in his last journeyings, but without giving his name, which is furnished us by the manuscripts of the third Gospel,³ as well

¹ I shall not weary the reader with the discussion of the question as to what sources the author may have used in the composition of his work, — a question overmuch debated in our day! Certain modern critics have exercised their imagination on this theme to such good purpose as to discover as many as eight distinct revisions in a work wherein, on the contrary, there seems to reign a perfect unity of thought and purpose. Jungst, *Die Quellen der Apostelgeschichte* (Gotha, 1895), will give the reader ample information concerning these hypotheses. The arbitrary and exaggerated character of these phantasies is at last causing reaction among more reasonable thinkers. See in particular the edition of the Acts recently published by Professor Blass: *Acta Apostolorum, sive Luce ad Theophilum, liber alter* (Göttingen, 1895). If the author of the Acts was, as he states, Paul's fellow-traveller, he would have had no need of other than his own personal recollections when narrating events in which he took part. As for the others, he had the testimony of Christians in Jerusalem and of the Apostolical men among whom he lived, Paul, his master, Peter, James, Philip, Mark, etc. Even the discourses which he inserts in his work do not prove that he had any written documents at hand; reduced as they are for the most part to a few sentences, they are in all probability but abstracts of the original, and give us merely the essential groundwork of their ideas.

² See Beelen, *Commentarius in Act. Apost., Prolegomena*, pp. 4, 5; Zeller, *Die Apostelgesch.*, pp. 387 et seq., 414 et seq.

³ All bear the heading, *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Λουκᾶν*, or an analogous title: *κατὰ Λουκᾶν* (B. F. 8); *Λουκᾶς* (A^a), etc.

as by Tradition. He is none other, as we know, than the Saint Luke whose name has been mentioned so often in the course of this narrative. According to Eusebius and Saint Jerome, this disciple of the Apostle to the Gentiles was born at Antioch,¹ of a Pagan family, who had him instructed in Greek literature, in the art of elegant speaking in that tongue, and in the practical science of medicine.² The exercise of his profession must have led him far away from his native town, since it was at Troas that he met Paul and became his follower.³ It is said that he combined the art of painting with the practice of medicine, and bequeathed to the first believers several portraits, among them one of the Saviour, His Holy Mother, and the Apostles. This tradition, of Greek origin, is open to suspicion.⁴ But though Luke may never literally have plied the brush, he deserves no less the painter's high renown, because of his skill in coloring his narrative; he has left us a series of pictures as striking and animated to-day as in the age of the Apostles.

In what place and at what time did he finish his work? His last history, the book of the Acts, so brusquely interrupted, makes us think of Rome and the close of Paul's captivity,⁵ — that is to say, somewhere about the year 64. The Apostle once liberated, made haste to set out for Spain, and, according to all appearances, would seem to have taken his habitual travelling comrade with him. The latter, desiring to leave his second work with Roman friends, and forced to finish it at once, summed up in one passage the two years which the Apostle had just spent in prison. This hypothesis explains so naturally the sudden break in the story, his silence concerning the later labors and the death of Saint Paul, that it is very generally adopted.⁶

¹ Eusebius, *Histor. Eccles.*, iii. iv.; St. Jerome, *De Vir.*, ch. 7.

² Coloss. iv. 14.

³ Acts xvi. 8-10.

⁴ See Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique*, Saint Luc., vol. ii. p. 137.

⁵ Acts xxviii. 30, 31.

⁶ "Historia usque ad biennium Romæ commorantis Pauli pervenit, id

As for the Gospel of Saint Luke, it is self-evident that its composition preceded that of the Acts. Probably it was written in the period already discussed,¹ during Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea. The prospect of the Apostle's detention being prolonged, the abandoned condition of the Churches accustomed to be encouraged by his words, the opportunity of meeting in Judæa the eye-witnesses of the Saviour's life, and, by their aid, of completing the Glad Tidings as preached by Paul, — all these circumstances impelled Luke to yield to the promptings of the Holy Ghost. Together they make the date I have assigned to the completion of his first work the likeliest one as yet proposed. It is possible, however, that it was not published and given out until after his arrival in Rome.

The Author dedicates his two books to Theophilus, an unknown and perhaps fictitious personage. Even in the first century, scholars like Origen and Saint Epiphanius considered this name as merely a generic term, meant to designate any one who loves God or is beloved of Him.² Whatever opinion one may adopt in this regard, the nature of the work declares plainly that the Evangelist had in mind some particular body of believers. He is writing for those born in the Gentile world, — for Greeks, as Origen and Saint Jerome tell us.³ Hence his care to avoid any subject offensive to Pagan ears, and to emphasize, on the contrary, everything which does them honor or might increase their hopes of salvation.

This constant preoccupation of mind is made manifest to any one who simply compares the same facts as related by Saint Matthew and Saint Luke. In the first Gospel, which was intended for the Hebrews, we encounter this command of the Lord to His Apostles: "Go ye not unto

est usque ad quantum Neronis annum, ex quo intelligimus in ea urbe librum esse compositum." S. Jerome, *De vir. ill.* vii. This testimony, which Professor Harnack makes light of, deserves, according to Professor Blass, all the respectful consideration which Catholic Tradition has ever accorded it.

¹ *St. Paul and His Missions*, chap. xvii.

² Origen, *In Lucam Hom.*, i. ; St. Epiphanius, *Hæres.*, xxi. 7.

³ Origen, *In Matt.*, vol. i. ; St. Jerome, *Epist. ad Dom.*, 20.

the Gentiles, neither enter into the cities of the Samaritans; go ye rather unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel.”¹ Saint Luke omits this prohibition. Saint Matthew reports literally another sentence of the Saviour: “If you salute your brethren only, what do you more than others? Do not even the Gentiles so?”² Saint Luke softens the severity of this line; he says, “Sinners do as much.”³ A score of precautionary measures analogous to this might be cited; but what principally characterizes Saint Luke’s work is that same anxiety to omit nothing which might breathe the hope of salvation into Gentile souls which characterizes all the works of Saint Paul. There is hardly a page where this intention is not apparent. The genealogy of the Christ, which starts with Abraham in the first Gospel,⁴ in Saint Luke’s goes back to Adam,⁵ designing to show thereby that not only the Jewish people but all humankind, though involved in the fall of the first man, are raised up by the new Adam and in Him regain grace and life. The Angels hovering over the cradle of the Christ sing of a peace offered unto all “men of good will.”⁶ Simeon, in the Temple, adores Jesus as “the Salvation prepared before the face of all nations, the Light destined to enlighten the Gentiles.”⁷ The same Gentiles take the precedence over Israel, beginning with the very first sermon at Nazareth. The Saviour, when repulsed by His fellow-countrymen, tells them whither the great gifts disdained by the chosen people shall be transferred, — unto Pagans: “There were widows in Israel in the days of Elias, what time the heavens were shut up three years and six months, inso-much as there was a great famine throughout all the land, and Elias was not sent to any one of them, save unto a widow of Sarepta, in the land of the Sidonians. And there were many lepers in Israel in the time of Eliseus the Prophet, and none of them was cleansed save Naaman

¹ Matt. x. 5, 6.² Ibid., v. 47.³ Luke vi. 32, 33.⁴ Matt. i. 1, 2.⁵ Luke iii. 38.⁶ Ibid., i. 14.⁷ Ibid., ii. 30–32.

the Syrian!"¹ The same deference to the Gentiles appears in the narrative of John Baptist's preaching. Saint Matthew mentions only Jews as present; Saint Luke tells how the Forerunner proclaimed the Messiah's coming to all, without distinction, — to publicans and to Pagan soldiers.² It would take too long to turn over page after page of Saint Luke's version after this fashion: what I wish to remark concerning the plan pursued throughout his two works will complete what is omitted here and will prove that everywhere this disciple of Paul was addressing the very same audience, the very same readers as was his master, — a Gentile folk.

This unanimity of views and teaching appeared from the very beginning so manifestly in Saint Luke's first book, his Gospel, that Antiquity, with one voice, attributed it to the Apostle of the Gentiles. "Luke," they said, "did no more than put in writing, as it were, setting in order and editing, what he had heard Paul preach."³ If we are to believe these witnesses, the Evangelist's part in the work bearing his name would be very trifling; it is impossible, however, to restrict it to this extent, for, in his preface, Saint Luke gives us a very different idea as to the originality of his labors and of the end he had in view: "Forasmuch as many," he says, "have already set themselves to relate the story of those things which occurred among us, as they have been handed down to us by those who from the beginning have been eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word, I too have seen fit, after having examined all things with care from the outset, to give to thee in writing the whole order of events, dear Theophilus, that so thou mayest know the certainty of the things wherein thou hast been instructed."⁴

From this it follows that Saint Luke was not content with merely writing down some oft-heard evangelical

¹ Luke iv. 25-27.

² Matt. iii. 5, 7; Luke iii. 7, 12, 14.

³ "Lucæ digestum Paulo adscribere solent." Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem*, iv. 5. "Lucas sectator Pauli, quod ab illo predicabatur Evangelium in libro condidit." St. Irenæus, *Cont. Hæc.*, iii. 1. Cf. *Muratorian Fragment.*, i. 2-7, etc.

⁴ Luke i. 1-4.

version; that his work is not that of a mere scribe, but of an historian; that he goes back to the sources, scrutinizing them carefully, and that from them he is constructing an orderly narrative which is properly his own. Doubtless, for him, Paul is always the principal authority, "the master, the enlightener," as Tertullian calls him;¹ but besides him he has not failed to consult "those who from the beginning have seen these things with their own eyes." Frequent occasions were offered him to consult these eye-witnesses of the earliest events. In Rome, he must have talked with Peter; in Cæsarea, with Philip the Deacon, in Jerusalem, with James the Less, perhaps even with the Mother of Jesus. Many contend that it is to this Holy Virgin that he owes the story of the Saviour's Childhood, and the supposition is far from unlikely.²

Were the first two Gospels among the documents which Luke had at hand? This none of the Fathers would lead us to infer, and Saint Jerome would seem to be echoing their general opinion when he asserts that Luke wrote down what he had heard, not what he had seen,³ or what he had gathered from the foregoing Gospels. It does not follow from this that he ignored the work of his predecessors. We have just heard him in his preface allude to the many narratives of the Saviour's life which were current in his time; why suppose that among these testimonies, those alone should have escaped him which were inspired by God? So, then, according to all probability, he knew them; but by so saying we are not admitting that from them he slavishly copied pas-

¹ Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem*, book iv. chap. 2.

² Resch claims that he has discovered in our present Gospel the traces of two earlier narratives which St. Luke made use of: 1. A history of the childhood of the Saviour, written in Hebrew, to which he gives the name of the "Generations of Jesus;" 2. A primitive Hebrew Gospel, entitled *Τὰ λόγια Ἰησοῦ*, and containing the words and deeds of Jesus. *Aussercanonische Paralleltexthe zu den Evangelien: Paralleltexthe zu Lucas gesammelt und untersucht von Resch. (Texte und Untersuchungen, 1895).* The existence of any such documents is too problematical for us to give them a place among the original texts which St. Luke examined when composing his work.

³ St. Jerome, *Commentariorum in Evang. Matt.* Prologus.

sages of his Gospel where the same events are related in terms more or less similar. How, indeed, did it happen, if he is really copying from them, that in telling the same facts he omits many interesting details? Why, for no reason whatever, should he change so many words and phrases? And why does he pass over altogether a notable part of the incidents recounted by his forerunners?

The one plausible explanation of these differences is that which we have seen elsewhere, when treating of the composition of the Gospels.¹ For the early Christians no document, however highly authorized it might be, could be compared with a recital of the Saviour's words and acts coming from the very lips of witnesses of His life. This they never tired of listening to, for in that historical catechism of the primitive Church it often happened that some new trait, some new detail, till then omitted, would occur to the narrator's remembrance and thereby enriched the treasury of belief. Handed down in this wise, the Glad Tidings did not, like the written Gospels, assume an immutable form; it still preserved the sap, the ceaseless fecundity of life. It would seem that, in his preface Saint Luke is referring principally to these oral traditions.² Free and unfettered as they may have seemed within their hallowed bounds, the habitual rehearsal of the same facts, their anxiety to repeat them with the utmost fidelity, must have brought about a certain fixity of expression; at least on all important points they were bound unavoidably to repeat the same words and to tell the same things. Numerous passages where it would seem Saint Luke is using Saint Matthew and Saint Mark as his models are in all probability merely extracts made by him from this common fund,—the Spoken Gospel. From it he borrowed, as did the two Synoptics before him, without stint, as he was moved by the breath of the Spirit from on High.³

¹ *St. Peter*, chap. xii. 1; THE EVANGELICAL PREACHING.

² Καθὼς παρέδωκαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου. Luke i. 2.

³ Schanz, *Comentar über das Evangelium des Heiligen Lucas*, p. 12 et seq. ;

To me, in proportion as the influence of Matthew and Mark appears more and more restricted and often doubtful, so much the more does that of Saint Paul seem manifest throughout the whole of his disciple's work. Saint Luke asserts it himself; his design is to prove to his readers, by the acts of the Saviour and His Apostles, the soundness of the teachings they had received.¹ Now we have seen to whom he addresses these words, — to Christians instructed by Saint Paul. Consequently it was the customary teaching of the Apostle to the Gentiles which he intends to confirm by a recital of the Evangelical Deeds. Thereby he means to illumine, illustrate, and as it were revivify, the abstract doctrines of his master, — the Empire wielded by Sin over the World; Redemption, through Faith in the Christ; Salvation, offered to Pagan and Jews alike; the necessity, the universality, the divine riches of Grace. In Jesus, Saint Matthew had portrayed the Messiah; Saint Mark, the Son of God; while Saint Luke represents Him as the Saviour of the world, a Saviour compassionate and helpful to all alike, no distinguisher of persons, no exclusive heritage of any race, religious state, or moral system. Everywhere of course the order followed by the Saviour in the Synagogue at Nazareth² is faithfully observed, — to the Jews first, then to the Pagans this offer of Salvation is made. But upon its rejection by the former the door is flung wide open to the Gentile world, and Saint Luke delights in showing the eagerness of the latter to fill the place disdained by the chosen race. The Samaritan so despised by Israel,³ takes the place of honor in the third Gospel. 'Tis neither Priest nor Levite that cares for the hapless traveller maltreated by bandits and left groaning along-

Traditions hypothese: Tüb. Quartalschr. (1885), pp. 216 *et seq.*; Cornely, *Introductio*, Sections 45-51; Reithmayr, *Einleit*, pp. 345 *et seq.*; *Revue Biblique*, articles by the R. P. Semeria (1892, pp. 520-559), by M. l'abbé Batiffol (1894, pp. 377-381), by the R. P. Lagrange (1895, pp. 4-22; 1896, pp. 5-38).

¹ Luke i. 3-4.

² *Ibid.*, iv. 16-30.

³ See *The Christ the Son of God*, vol. i.; Appendix v., THE SAMARITANS.

side the Jericho road; 'tis the good Samaritan; and Jesus gives him as a model to that Doctor of the Law who came to tempt Him.¹ Of the ten lepers cured, one alone returns to throw himself at the Saviour's feet and offer his thanks,—"and he was a Samaritan." "Where then are the nine others?" asks Jesus. "There are not found that returned to give thanks to God, save only this stranger."²

The same consideration is shown to the Publicans, another class pursued by the people's scorn. Saint Luke depicts them as submitting willingly to baptism at the hands of John,³ in like manner thronging about Christ, happy at welcoming Him to their homes and entertaining Him at their boards. Great is the scandal thereby given to the Pharisees, who point Him out as a glutton, a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners.⁴ Jesus' only reply to this is a description of the Pharisee praying in the Temple, with haughty mien, disdain curling his lips; far behind him in the background stands the Publican, not daring so much as to raise his eyes from the ground, beating his breast and murmuring, "My God, be merciful unto me who am a sinner!"

"I declare unto you," the Saviour concludes, "this latter went on his homeward way justified, and not the former."⁵

Nay, lower still in the social scale, in the very sink of worldly iniquity, Saint Luke delights to portray the triumphs of God's grace. Two of his most touching pictures are inspired by this thought: one, the Magdalene still unshrived, kissing and bathing with her tears the feet of Jesus; the other, the Magdalene purified, rapt in ecstasy at her Saviour's feet, and receiving from Him the assurance that she has chosen the better part.⁶

This, doubtless, is but the fulfilment of the words repeated by the three other Synoptical writers, "I am come

¹ Luke x. 25-37.

² Ibid., iii. 12-13.

³ Ibid., xvii. 11-19.

⁴ Ibid., v. 27-39; vii. 29-34; xv. 1-2; xix. 2-10.

⁵ Ibid., xviii. 9-14.

⁶ Ibid., vii. 37-48; x. 38-42.

to call, not the righteous, but sinners to repentance ;”¹ not one of them, however, endeavors to illustrate this principle in action as does Saint Luke.

The Acts, even more than his Gospel, serve to set this economy of Redemption in more striking relief. In the course of the first thirty years of the Church’s existence, the salvation so persistently rejected by Israel was being offered to all such as the Jews abhorred as doomed to infamy and sin. Peter takes the first step by calling down the Heavenly Spirit upon the Samaritans, and on the Pagans of Cæsarea.² Paul follows in his footsteps: once driven from the Synagogues which he had striven in vain to evangelize, he seldom seeks to return thither save to warn the Jews of the Lord’s sentence of disinheri-
tance: “You were the first to whom it behooved us to proclaim the Word of God, but seeing you reject it and deem yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, we are going to the Pagans.”³

To this Gentile world Saint Luke holds out no other means of salvation save only Faith, which his master represented as sole source of justification and holiness. This Faith, working through Charity, is all that is needed to transform men’s hearts and infuse therein a new life, that of God Himself. Examples of such wondrous transformations abound. Within a few hours Philip makes a Christian of the eunuch from Ethiopia.

“Who hinders me from being baptized?” asks this Gentile.

“If you believe with your whole heart,” the Evangelist replies, “you may be.”⁴

Still more rapid is the working of grace during Peter’s preaching to the Pagans of Cæsarea. God’s Spirit does not wait for the Apostle to finish speaking, but forthwith descends upon them and communicates to them the Gift of Tongues. Peter’s companions are overwhelmed with awe at the suddenness of this manifestation; he himself

¹ Matt. ix. 13 ; Mark ii. 17 ; Luke v. 32.

² Acts viii. 14-15 ; x. 44-47 ; xi. 1-18.

³ Ibid., xiii. 46.

⁴ Ibid., viii. 26-39.

can but cry out, "Can any one refuse them baptism? They have received the Holy Ghost as well as we."¹ At once he orders that they be baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. Paul and Barnabas spend but one week in Antioch of Pisidia,² yet they leave behind them a goodly community of believers, "filled with joy and with the Holy Ghost."³ Facts like these need no commentary to make men realize the might of regeneration inherent in Faith, its all-powerfulness in purifying and sanctifying, aye, in creating a supernatural life in the souls of men, even as God created the world in one outburst of Love.

Nor does Saint Luke excel simply in making us comprehend the effects of his master's Theology; he is even happier in displaying its most lovable side. The third Gospel, though always the same austere revelation granted by Jesus to the Apostle of the Gentiles, becomes in the hands of his disciple a veritable balm of life poured into the wounds of sad humanity; it is essentially a proclamation of "forgiveness,"⁴ "of mercy poured forth from generation to generation,"⁵—the Gospel of the Heart of Jesus. Saint Luke alone has limned those first rays of the reign of loving-kindness which emanated from the cradle of the Divine Babe: John, while still in his mother's womb, is thrilled by the nearness of the Christ;⁶ the Forerunner is charged to preach salvation, the remission of sins through the bowels of mercy of our God;⁷ the angels, choiring over the Saviour's crib, sing "Peace on earth unto men of good will."⁸

In the recital of the public life of Jesus there is ever the same underlying thought. His first act in the Synagogue at Nazareth is to read this significant oracle from Isaiah: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me. He hath anointed Me to preach the Glad Tidings to the poor, deliverance to captives, sight to the blind, to set at lib-

¹ Acts x. 44-49.

² Ibid., xiii. 14, 42, 44.

³ Ibid., xiii. 52.

⁴ Luke iv. 19.

⁵ Ibid., i. 50.

⁶ Ibid., i. 41.

⁷ Ibid., i. 77-78.

⁸ Ibid., ii. 14.

erty them that are bruised.”¹ To James and John, who would fain call down fire from heaven upon the city of the Samaritans which had spurned them, the Lord makes answer, “You know not what spirit you are of. The Son of Man is not come to destroy men, but to save them.”² And how His Heart beats high with joy at the thought that the Gospel, hidden from the wise and the learned, is revealed to His little ones!³ And then that cry of Divine Love, “I am come to spread a fire on the earth, and what will I, if not that it be kindled now?”⁴ He stays the arm raised to chop down the barren fig-tree. “Let be,” he says, “till I dig about its roots and dung it: perchance it will bear fruit.”⁵

In Saint Luke as in Saint Matthew, small is the number of the elect,⁶ narrow the gate of Heaven, and a manful struggle lies before him who would win therein;⁷ but Jesus stands waiting there, renewing our courage, showing us that besides the reprobates whose unbelief enchains them, weeping and grinding their teeth, there is a whole multitude of the elect entering the Banquet Hall. “They shall come from the East and from the West, from the North and from the South, and shall sit at the table in the Kingdom of God.”⁸ A strange sight, assuredly, this festival hall, where, jumbled together, beggars and cripples, the blind and the maimed are occupying seats disdained by those guests of rank who were the first to be invited to the board! And as there are still many empty places, “Go forth!” the master bids his servant, “go out into the highways and along the hedges and compel them to enter, that my house may be filled!”⁹ We well know whence came these last recruits summoned by the Saviour: from the dregs of the populace, publicans, sinners, courtesans.¹⁰ Seeing Him in such company, the Pharisees are

¹ Luke iv. 18-19.

⁴ Ibid., xii. 49.

² Ibid., ix. 52-56.

⁵ Ibid., xiii. 6-9.

³ Ibid. x., 21.

⁶ Matt. xix. 30; xx. 16, Luke xiii. 30.

⁷ Ibid., vii. 13, 14; Luke xiii. 24.

⁸ Luke xiii. 25-30.

⁹ Ibid., xiv. 16-23.

¹⁰ Matt. xxi. 31, 32; Luke vi. 34-50.

loud in their protestations of horror.¹ But Jesus meets their mutterings with some of His most touching parables: the prodigal son;² the groat lost but found again;³ the shepherd leaving his flock in the wilderness while he hastens in search of the strayed sheep, then returning bearing it upon his shoulders in great joy; "for there shall be more joy in Heaven over one sinner that repenteth than over ninety and nine just persons that need no repentance."⁴

Such is the picture Saint Luke has painted for us of the Divine Master: above all and unto all a Saviour, so merciful and so tender-hearted that even in the Magdalene's sin He sees naught but the love whence it sprang, and which now wipes it clean away; "Manifold the sins forgiven her because she hath loved much: he loveth less to whom less is forgiven."⁵ Paul is thinking of these words when he declares that "the Law has intervened that sin might be multiplied, that there where sin had abounded, Grace might be much more abundant."⁶ Yet it is only when we set this commentary of the Apostle side by side with the Evangelist's text that we realize all we owe to Saint Luke,—how, by inspiration from on High, that figure of Jesus Whom Paul preached is, so to say, become more tender and gracious under the brush of his disciple. It is no longer the Christ, clothed in dazzling majesty, Whom he describes to us, combining in Himself "all the treasures of wisdom and of knowledge,"⁷—"the Plenitude of the Godhead;"⁸ a Christ Who is "Image of the invisible God,"⁹ Master of that world which He beholds at His feet,¹⁰ seated at the right hand of the Father,¹¹ high above the Angels and all creation! Here we have rather that Christ Whom Paul met upon the highway leading up to Damascus, felling to earth the malevolent Scribe, it is true, yet only that He

¹ Luke xv. 1, 2.

² Ibid., xv. 11-32.

³ Ibid., xv. 8-10.

⁴ Ibid., xv. 4-7.

⁵ Ibid., vii. 47.

⁶ Rom. v. 20.

⁷ Coloss. ii. 3.

⁸ Ibid., ii. 9.

⁹ Ibid., i. 15.

¹⁰ Ephes. i. 22.

¹¹ Coloss. iii. 1; Ephes. i. 20, 21.

may appeal most gently to him: "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?"¹

From beginning to end Saint Luke is ever searching for similar traits in the Life of Jesus, his aim always to gather up such words and acts as are most fitted to win the hearts of men. He is the only one of the Evangelists who has handed down to us that prayer of Jesus upon the Cross, "Father, forgive them! They know not what they do."² Matthew and Mark tell us only of the blasphemies uttered by the thieves crucified at either hand;³ Luke alone gives us the last word, the *coup de grâce*, which converted one of them, as well as the accompanying dialogue, which so marvellously illustrates the all-powerfulness of Faith.

"Lord, remember me when Thou shalt come into Thy Kingdom!"

"Of a truth I say unto thee: this very day thou shalt be with Me in Paradise."⁴

Certainly, while trying to distinguish in the third Gospel the share due to the disciple from that due to the Apostle, we should be far from forgetting how greatly Paul loved the Lord and made others love Him. No one was ever completely so consumed by that Love Divine, none has ever discoursed thereof in terms more ardent; but the flame which glows within him, which he himself enkindled in men's hearts burns upon the heights; Paul's concept of the Christ is ever that of the loftiest souls. It would seem that God had inspired Saint Luke to bring this Divine Saviour within the limits of our weakness. The Jesus Whom he depicts for our adoration is the refuge and salvation of the little ones of this earth, the unlearned and the lowly, the Crucified Redeemer, Who reappears in the Upper Chamber, stretching forth His pierced hands to the Apostles, showing them His wounded side to draw them thither and press them close to His Heart: "Peace be unto you all; 'tis I, be not afraid."⁵

¹ Acts ix. 4.

³ Matt. xxvii. 44; Mark xv. 32.

² Luke xxiii. 34.

⁴ Luke xxiii. 42, 43.

⁵ Ibid., xxiv. 36. A reading preserved by the Vulgate which is to be found in quite a number of MSS. (G. P., etc.) and very many versions.

Saint Luke had need of very special gifts thus to compose a Gospel of the Glad Tidings, which should find its way to every sincere and loving heart. And Heaven lavished upon him all that was necessary for his task. In contrast to the other writers of the New Testament, who were all Hebrews bearing the stamp of their race and age, he is Greek by birth as well as by education; he is endowed with its universal genius,—its order, its simplicity, clearness of thought, a charming diction, a wonderful facility in conceiving, expressing, hinting at what he will,—in a word, its “sweetness and light.” These qualities render his work all the more attractive, inasmuch as imagery and feeling dominate it throughout: they render lovable and accessible to all that doctrine which the strenuous flights of thought bear so far aloft in the Epistles of Saint Paul, but which were too often obscured to the eyes of the plain people by the subtilty and unfamiliar method of the Apostle’s reasoning. Luke hardly ever has recourse to such dialectics; he narrates, explains, portrays the facts in such luminous pictures that Christian Art has always gone to him first to seek inspiration. The frescos and stained windows of our temples are for the most part reproductions of scenes in the third Gospel or the Acts. To the same source we owe the hymns which, re-echoed there, still thrill our souls, the *MAGNIFICAT* . . . the *GLORIA IN EXCELSIS* . . . the *BENEDICTUS DOMINUS DEUS ISRAEL* . . . the *NUNC DIMITTIS*. Luke it was who preserved these songs, and thus laid upon the cradle of the new-born Church the first flowers of our Liturgy.

The sphere of his influence in the preaching of the Gospel must, therefore, be conceded to have been indeed considerable; without likening his performance, or even considering it as equal, to that of Saint Paul, his master, it certainly aided, and in some respects completed it; taken together, the two form a body of revelation wherein nothing essential is lacking. Had the other writings of the New Testament been lost to us together with so many other early documents, the twofold testi-

mony of Paul and his disciple would have sufficed to preserve for us the Christ, His Theology, His Life, and His Work. And this testimony of theirs is the most important we possess, since our most determined foes are forced to acknowledge its weight. No candid critic nowadays denies the authenticity of the principal Epistles of Paul; none disputes the fact that somewhere in the fifties, that is, about twenty years after the Saviour's death, Luke joined company with the Apostle of the Gentiles,¹ and began his task of collecting the data he has handed down to posterity concerning Jesus and His Church. It is generally admitted, therefore, that here we have witnesses to our Faith who were not remote from its earliest origins,—with only the works of Paul and his disciples we can study its first foundations.

¹ Acts xvi. 10.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MASSACRE OF THE CHRISTIANS OF ROME.

I. THE BURNING OF ROME.

SAINT LUKE'S work appeared at a period when it was most needed by that Roman society which Nero day by day was plunging deeper in an abyss of debauchery and bloodshed. Paul has described it to us as it was in the latter part of his imprisonment, "having their understanding darkened . . . their hearts hardened, no feeling for morality, unbridled in their lusts; ever eager in the search for new impurities, and greedily gorging themselves therewith;¹ "what they do in secret," he adds, "modesty forbids me so much as to mention."² That the Apostle still ventured to leave his faithful followers, despite the danger they stood in of contagion, was due doubtless to his appreciation of the fact that "their loins were girt about with Truth, and shielded by the buckler of Faith;"³ due likewise to the fact that in "The Gospel of Peace,"⁴ which he had inspired his disciple to compile, he left with them a mighty armor, — "the Word of Life,"⁵ — which should ward off all the deadly onslaughts of the foe. The occasion was soon to offer itself which should prove how far this confidence was warranted by the event, for hardly had Paul arrived in Spain when a persecution, as formidable as it was unforeseen, assailed the Christians of Rome.

This tempest was one of the whirlwinds of madness which swept down from the Palatine unnoticed and un-

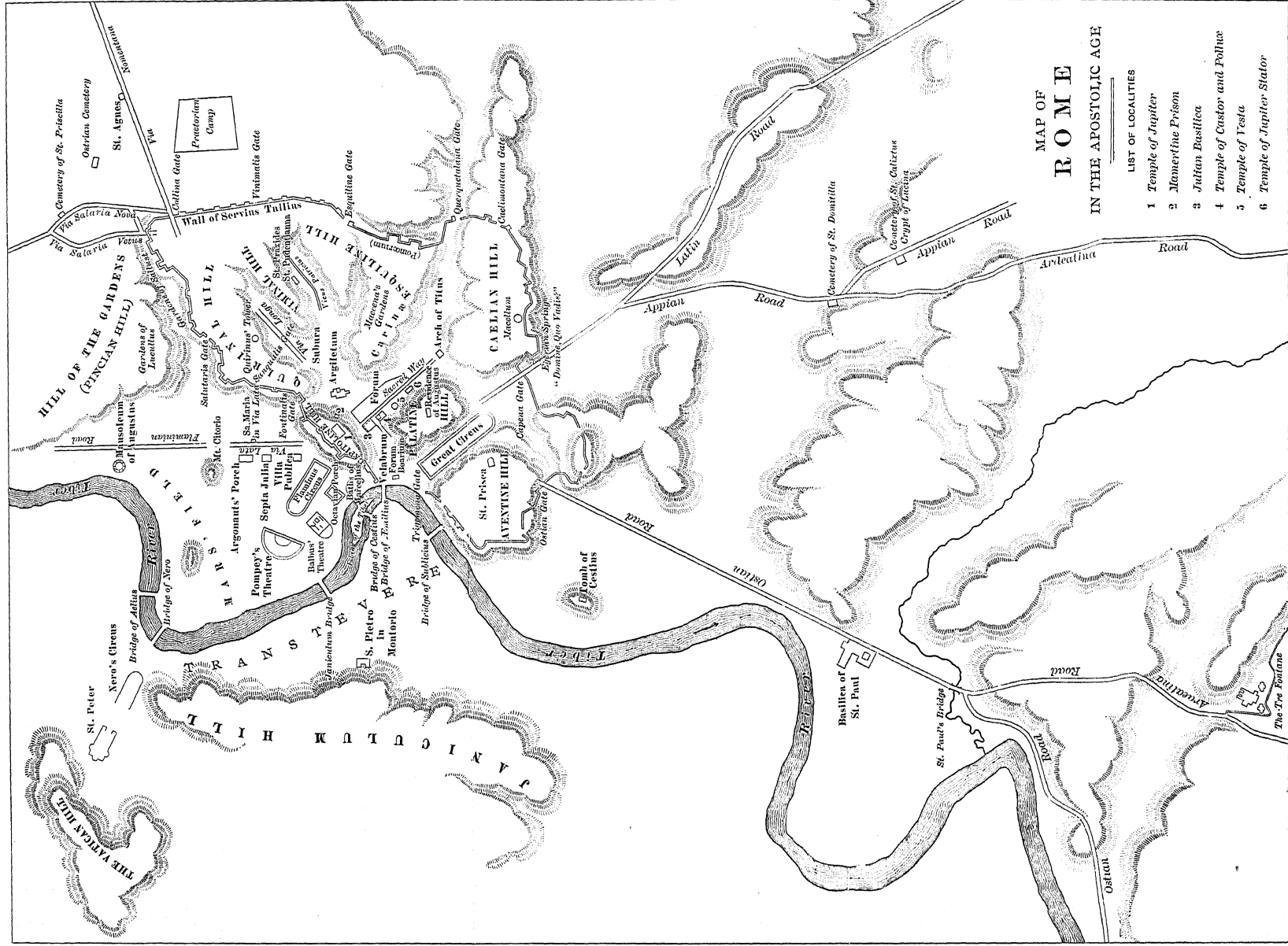
¹ Ephes. iv. 18, 19.

² Ibid., v. 12.

³ Ibid., vi. 14, 16.

⁴ Ibid., vi. 15.

⁵ Philip. ii. 16.



MAP OF ROME IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE

LIST OF LOCALITIES

- 1 Temple of Jupiter
- 2 Mamertine Prison
- 3 Julian Basilica
- 4 Temple of Castor and Pollux
- 5 Temple of Vesta
- 6 Temple of Jupiter Stator

checked, now that Burrhus and Seneca were no longer there to stay their insensate fury. Nero, as we have seen, was but the puppet of two councillors, or rather two instigators of his fury, Tigellinus and Poppæa.

What power the former possessed was used solely to gratify his avarice and revengefulness; "he was a man in naught save his appetite for crime."¹ Cornelius Sylla, Rubellius Plautus,² Octavia,³ were his first victims; no one ventures to record the list after Piso's conspiracy. Denunciations, confiscations, torturings, bloodshed, — all these but whetted his vilest instincts, which waxed daily worse; but at the time we are speaking of he stands forth clearly as Nero's evil genius.⁴ It was in the year 64 that he gave his festival on Agrippa's Pool, to pander to the passions of his master, — that festival of direful renown, its excesses forming a fitting climax to this reign of shame.⁵ In that same year the Christians were to realize what ferocious lusts lurked in this creature, blighted by sin from childhood, bred in an atmosphere of crime, doomed to a lascivious old age, ending in suicide amid the orgies of his foul crew.⁶

The influence of Poppæa, though quite as disastrous to the disciples of the Christ, was less degrading to Nero. This woman, though destitute of moral sense, was nevertheless of high rank, and still possessed some spark of nobility despite her dissolute life.⁷ True, she had sold herself, but not without demanding haughtily her price, even if it were to the dictating of new laws.⁸ A meek and

¹ "Crudelitatum mox, deinde avaritiam et virilia scelera exercuit . . ." Tacitus, *Histor.*, i. 72.

² Tacitus, *Annal.*, xiv. 57.

³ *Ibid.*, xiv. 61–64; Suetonius, *Nero*, 35, 57; Dion Cassius, lxi. 13.

⁴ " . . . Corrupto ad omne facinus Nerone." Tacitus, *Hist.*, i. 72.

⁵ Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 37.

⁶ "Sophonius Tigellinus obscuris parentibus, fæda pueritia, impudica senecta . . . accepto apud Sinuessanas aquas supremæ necessitatis nuntio, inter stupra concubinarum et oscula et deformes moras, sectis novacula faucibus, infamem vitam fœdavit etiam exitu sero et inhonesto. Tacitus, *Histor.*, i. 72. 'Ἀσελγεία τε καὶ μαιφονία πάντας τοὺς καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπους ὑπεράφαντα. Dion Cassius, lxi. 13.

⁷ Tacitus, *Annal.*, xiii. 45.

⁸ *Ibid.*, xiii. 46.

gentle freedwoman named Actæa was then all-powerful with Nero. Poppæa dared to characterize this liaison as "low and slavish,"¹ and succeeded, if not in breaking it off, at least in weakening its bonds. Octavia, though abandoned, had still retained her position as wife and Queen. Poppæa drove her from it. Then, as the people began to mutter at the outrage offered to the daughter of Claudius, she demanded her rival's head, and she had her way.² This crime proves that at certain times she was capable of rivalling, if not excelling, Nero in ferocity. Usually, however, her better instincts had the upper hand; she was in sympathy with the patrician ladies, then so numerous, for whom Rome and its ephemeral joys were not enough, and who looked forward to a better world beyond the tomb, and had visions of a light and peace and happiness without shadow, without end.³ The secret of this future some sought to discover from the "Mysteries" of Asia or of Greece, or from the religions of the East;⁴ others had recourse to the soothsayers of all races who haunted their palaces.⁵ Poppæa's apartments were always open to such as these; but more learned counsellors than they, likewise, had found admittance therein, and had initiated her in the love of Mosaism.⁶ Till death she remained a devotee of Israel's God:⁷ instead of being burned, according to Roman customs, her body was embalmed, as among the Jews.⁸ The intellectual assent she gave to their teachings did not, as we have seen, prevent her from committing base cruelties; these simply harmonized with the weaker side of the woman. Poppæa always, even in her moments of coquetry, preserved a certain air of great-

¹ "Neronem, pellice ancilla et adsuetudine Actes devinctum nil e contubernio servili, nisi abjectum et sordidum traxisse." Tacitus, *Annal.*, xii. 46.

² Tacitus, xiv. 60-64.

³ Friedlaender, *Mœurs Romaines*, t. i. livre 5; *LES FEMMES*.

⁴ The worship of Isis, among others, was in high favor with them. Juvenal, vi. 526 *et seq.*; Tibullus i. iii. 23 *et seq.*

⁵ Juvenal, vi. 542 *et seq.*

⁷ Tacitus, *Histor.*, i. 22.

⁶ Josephus, *Antig. Jud.*, xx. viii. 11; *Vita*, 3.

⁸ Tacitus, *Annal.*, xvi. 6.

ness; though she was so proud of the beauty which had won her an empire, sparing nothing to enhance its charms, — even to having five hundred she asses always in her train in order to bathe in their milk,¹ yet on the day that her mirror told her that her efforts were in vain, and that age was withering her loveliness, she cried on death, rather than survive this loss.² Mad vanity this! Granted, yet it betrays pride rather than corruption. However terrible her crimes, she was always careful not to lower herself, always to remain what she was by birth, a woman of rank and exquisite distinction. No ornament was lacking in the wardrobe of this paragon of patrician elegance, not even the garb of modesty, whose allurements she practised so well. “Very rarely did she appear in public, and then always half veiled, perhaps because she would not satisfy the starers, perhaps because thus she but added to her charms.”³ Sumptuous refinement,⁴ brilliant wit, that of a delightful conversationalist,⁵ — all these made one forget the courtesan under the finished exterior of an ideal noblewoman.

Nero was deeply attached to her. His heart was won, — indeed it is no exaggeration to assert that she was the only woman he ever loved.⁶ So it came about that after he had given her her death wound in one of his fits of madness, so frantic was his remorse that he clung despairingly to any and every one who reminded him of her in form or feature, and pursued them as he had pursued her, with his brutal love.⁷

Poppæa’s empire over him could not instil into Nero a love for humanity and uprightness of living, — feelings this woman knew naught of, — but it contributed toward fostering in him a love for the arts and literature, for all

¹ Pliny, *Hist. natur.*, xxviii. 50.

³ Tacitus, *Annal.*, xii. i. 45.

² Dion Cassius, lxii. 28.

⁴ She even went so far as to have her favorite mules shod with gold. Pliny, *Hist. natur.*, xxxiii. 49.

⁵ “Sermo comis nec absurdum ingenium.” Tacitus, *Annal.*, xiii. 45.

⁶ “Poppæam . . . dilexit unice.” Suetonius, *Nero*, 35.

⁷ Suetonius, *Nero*, 35; Tacitus, *Annal.*, xvi. 6; Dion Cassius, lxii. 28; lxiii. 12, 13.

intellectual culture. Burrhus and Seneca, while they had the duty of instructing the son of Agrippina, had not failed in their task entirely; their pupil, who, when left to his own promptings, proved himself a monster of cruelty and debauchery, always, even amid his most abominable exhibitions of passion, retained his tastes for poetry, music, literary fame; his unchanging ambition was to be known as an artist, even if only as an actor, if necessary, and we shall see that to this phase of his character he was faithful to the end.¹

He but exhausted himself in his ridiculous efforts, for his education had given him merely a smattering of the arts. Of genius he had not a spark, and little, if any, natural talent. He strove to paint, to carve, and to sing, accompanying himself on the lyre, each fresh attempt but emphasizing his mediocrity; his verses did not lack a certain easiness,² but they were spoiled by a bombastic style, false emphasis, and striving after effect. In the hour of death he still posed in the presence of outraged and rebellious Rome, while he racked his brain for the most telling retort. True enough, these were the most common faults of his day. Seneca himself is not exempt from them, but, in him, the greatness of his thought makes us forget the unlovely robes which trammel it. Nero reflects his teacher only in his faults. His learning was all summed up in a fanatic reverence for Greece, its institutions, its mythological dreams, and in a wild desire to imitate them.

Public games, held in so great esteem among the Hellenes, had never gained foothold in Rome. The narrow pride of the Quirites led them to regard these amusements as dishonorable, and they abandoned them to the servile classes; Nero resolved to rescue them from this ignominy by appearing in person as a charioteer in the Great Circus. This was during the days when Burrhus and Seneca still retained some vestige of influence over him, but they realized their powerlessness to check this caprice of a

¹ Suetonius, *Nero*, 39.

² *Ibid.*, 52, 53.

young madman made master of the world at twenty-two; in the hope of avoiding worse extravagances, they assisted him in this.

The main thing, it seemed to them, was to keep this degrading spectacle as much as possible from public sight; to this end they chose the circus begun by Caligula and continued by Claudius in the valley of the Vatican;¹ there at least they would not be in a public domain, but surrounded by the wide-reaching gardens of Nero. Thus, at first, the ruler had only his own courtiers for spectators, but it was not long before their too perfunctory applause palled on his ear; the gates of the Imperial Circus must be thrown ajar to admit the plebeian throngs whose howls of delight completely upset the vainglorious Cæsar. Thereafter he dreamt of nothing but the theatre, forcing consular dignitaries, even patrician nobles to play the parts of clowns and ribald louts; then he would appear among them, lyre in hand, chanting his verses before the populace and bent on their applause.² Burrhus was there among his own Prætorians, his head bowed in shame, groaning secretly, yet covering these follies by the prestige of his presence, hoping thereby to shield the world from a new reign of terror.³

Nero's passion for everything Grecian had, on the other hand, the merit of inspiring in him tastes more becoming to a prince. He loved beautiful things, the masterpieces of Hellas and the Orient, statues, precious vases, anything of artistic interest, and he lavished his gold to obtain them.⁴ Especially in architecture, he let

¹ An obelisk brought from Heliopolis and to-day standing in the circle in front of St. Peter's. In that day the obelisk was located at the extremity of the long wall (La Spina) which divided the length of the circus in half. The drivers must needs turn their chariots around its spacious pediment, covered with marble, upon which were erected a profusion of statues, altars, obelisks, fountains, and trophies of every description.

² Tacitus, *Annal.*, xiv. 14-16; Suetonius, *Nero*, 11, 12, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 30; Dion Cassius, lxi. 17-21; lxii. 15.

³ "Accesserat cohors militum, centuriones tribunique, et mcerens Burrus ac laudans." Tacitus, *Annal.*, xiv. 15.

⁴ Suetonius, *Nero*, 47; Pliny, *Histor. natur.*, xxxvii. 7.

his fantasies have full fling. From the Cæsars, his predecessors, he had inherited an estate upon the Palatine, which in the beginning boasted of but a decent dwelling occupied by Augustus;¹ Tiberius, however, had notably enlarged the scope of the original plan, while Caligula, by extending it till it embraced the entire hill, transformed it into such a majestic residence that the name *Palatium*, "Palace," has remained to this day that of all royal mansions throughout the civilized world.

From the heights covered by the main edifices, the various outbuildings occupied the hillsides down to the Forum, and stretched as far as the temple of Castor and Pollux, which served as a sort of vestibule. A bridge near by connected the Palatine with the Capitol, thus permitting the master of the world to visit that of Olympus at his pleasure, and without descending to the plain below.² Such vast undertakings must have been regarded as prodigies of human effort. Nero treated them as unworthy of his genius; scoffing at his forebears for their stinginess, he boasted that he would show the world what a Cæsar could do.³ Accordingly he bade the engineers, Severus and Celerus, to erect provisorily, an outline, as it were, of his architectural dreams.

This "House of Passage,"⁴ as he styled it, rivalled the most extravagant inventions of Egyptian and Assyrian monarchs. His fancy tickled by this first essay, he resolved to execute the work in such magnificence that it might justly be called "The House of Gold." But one characteristic trait of maniacs is that they can never satisfy themselves. The appurtenances of the new palace only half pleased him; what mattered it if the park had been extended as far as the Gardens of Mæcenas on the Esquiline?⁵ Nero wanted still more space, and, as the

¹ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 72. ² *Ibid.*, *Caius*, 22. ³ *Ibid.*, *Nero*, 37.

⁴ "Non in alia re damnosior quam in ædificando, domum a Palatio Esquilias usque fecit. Quam primo transitoriam, mox, incendio absumptam restitutamque, auream nominavit." Suetonius, *Nero*, 31.

⁵ "Palatium et Mæcenatis hortos continuaverat." Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 39.

Palatine arose from the heart of the old city, he bethought himself how he could sweep away these populous quarters and thereby enlarge his estate, thus extending it, by means of galleries and arcades, even as far as the outlying hills.

An event, fortuitous in its origin, but terrible in its consequences, especially to the Christians, offered him an opportunity of realizing his dreams. On the nineteenth of July, 64, a conflagration burst forth not far from the Porta Capena, at the extremity of the Great Circus, contiguous to the Palatine and the Cælius.¹ Shops and booths were here crowded most densely, and all filled with inflammable merchandise; the fire, fanned by a strong wind, had soon invaded the Circus from end to end, its rich materials adding fuel to the furnace. The narrow, crooked streets of this section made it almost impossible to bring any aid; besides which, in a twinkling, they were thronged with people, half crazed by the sudden awakening amid the crackling flames, unable to save themselves and shrieking for help: this frenzied multitude swayed this way and that, a confused and struggling mass, in awful tumult and disorder.² Encountering no obstacle, the fire swept on triumphantly: from the valley transformed into a brazier of burning coals, it leaped up to lick the heights around about, whence it rushed more fiercely down again, like torrents of lava, upon the lower levels, as if bent on ravaging the whole town.

The districts which encircled the Palatine, — the Vela-brum, the Forum, and the Carinæ, — were utterly devastated. It was not until the sixth day that they managed to arrest the progress of this scourge, at the very foot of the Esquiline, “by levelling a goodly number of buildings in order to quell this devouring contagion by bringing it face to face, so to say, with the naked wilderness below

¹ Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 38–44, 52; Suetone, *Nero*, 31, 38, 39; Dion Cassius, lxii. 16–18. Cf. Jordan, *Topographie des Stadt Rom in Alterthum*, t. i. pp. 487–491.

² Dion Cassius, lxii. 16.

and the naked vault of heaven above.”¹ The number of the lost was considerable, some overtaken by the flames, others abandoning themselves to their fate in despair at having lost their all. The great mass of the populace survived it, however, crowding the streets and lying about the open campagna.

The terror of it all had but just begun to die down, when the conflagration, suddenly springing up again on the estate of Tigellinus, raged for three days more; not so violently, however, and with less damage to property, for in the temples and spacious porches of this district the flames found less to feed upon than in the centre of the town.² Thereafter it began to be possible to take some account of the enormity of the disaster. Out of the fourteen districts of Rome, four alone had escaped unscathed; everywhere else there was nothing but a waste of half wrecked houses, a huge mass of smoking ruins.

Nero was at his seaside residence, at Antium, when the conflagration first started.³ At the earliest reports of an accident of such frequent occurrence in the city, he evinced little if any emotion. But later on, learning that the combustion was gaining ground and threatened to consume everything, he hastened homewards, and at the outset was entirely preoccupied by his eagerness to combat the awful scourge. He was to be seen during the night and unattended, rushing hither and thither in the very midst of the flames; it was by his order that, after six days of ineffectual labors, the great battering-rams were brought out and made an open space amid the crowded buildings, the manœuvre which checked the flames. He evidenced his sympathy for the homeless multitudes by opening the public monuments, his own private gardens, caused shelters to be built, and lowered the price of bread. But that monstrous passion of his for artistic effects shortly regained the upper hand of him. As soon as he became wonted to the horrors of this public

¹ Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 40.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, *Annal.*, xv. 39.

calamity, he had eyes only for its magnificence. Did he display any signs of indecent delight at sight of this direful spectacle? Did the onlookers detect in his words, his expressions, or his actions, the joy he felt at seeing his "Temporary Residence" reduced to ashes, with the wide spaces round about it at last cleared for the "Golden House" of his dreams,—in a word, that new Rome he meant to build? One is justified in inferring as much, for almost immediately a rumor was noised abroad that the conflagration was his work, that he alone was the Great Incendiary.

Certain grievous memories went to support this suspicion. The fall of Troy was, of all incidents recounted in the Grecian Epic, the one which appealed most strongly to his imagination;¹ as a child he was fond of reproducing it in his plays; later on, when represented in his own theatre, the scenes depicting its destruction by fire had excited him to the highest pitch of passion.

"Happy Priam!" he would cry, "to have beheld his empire and his country perish together under his very eyes!"²

Another time, when listening to that line in Euripides: "At my death may earth and fire be confounded!" he replied, "Aye! say rather during my life."

"He acted consistently, therefore," adds Suetonius. "Feigning a great disgust for the ugliness of the ancient edifices, the narrow and tortuous streets of the town, he burned Rome, and did it so brazenly that none durst hinder the Prætorians and slaves of the palace, when caught in the act, within the imperial possessions, with torches and blazing tow in their hands. The site occupied by the shops which surrounded his House of Gold were the special object of his envious longings; battering-rams were sent to demolish their walls, which were of stone, and thus give free passage for the flames. . . . From his lofty lookout place on the Tower Mæcenas,

¹ "Tener adhuc, necdum matura pueritia, Circensibus ludis Trojam constantissime favorabiliterque lusit." Suetonius, *Nero*, 7.

² Dion Cassius, lxii. 16.

Nero gazed his fill at the conflagration; ravished by the beauty of the flames (such were his very words), he thereupon decked himself in a theatrical costume and declaimed the destruction of Ilion."¹

Such is the story "as it was generally accredited fifty years after the event, and which Pliny and Dion Cassius accept as implicitly as does Suetonius.² Tacitus, it is true, seems to cast doubt over certain details, notably the description of Nero chanting his lays over the smoking ashes of Rome. He raises the question whether the threatening voices which forbade any one to extinguish the flames, the unknown forms publicly throwing their fire-brands, and shouting that they were acting under orders, might not have been plunderers, pure and simple, using this device to prosecute their business unchecked.³ As regards the main point, however, he does not hesitate any more than did his contemporaries, to reckon the act of incendiarism among the crimes of which Nero is justly accused.⁴ The part played in it by the Prince was apparently that which I have sketched above: he neither desired nor commanded the conflagration, but, struck with its awful majesty, he was filled with insane delight, and recognized moreover that here was his sole chance to clear away the centre of Rome and make room for his own great projects. As to the assertion that thereafter he directed the march of the flames along certain lines favorable to his fantasies, nothing would seem more likely. The mysterious kindling of the conflagration on the estate of Tigellinus was enough to strengthen this suspicion, which became certitude as soon as it was remarked how eagerly the Prince seized upon the opportunity of turning the public disaster to his private profit. In fact, the palace of gold and precious stones which had floated so long in his dreams, was erected in mad haste over the ruins of the "Transitory House." The neighbor-

¹ Suetonius, *Nero*, 38.

² "Neronis principis incendia, quibus cremavit urbem." Pliny, *Hist. natur.*, xvii. 1; Dion Cassius, lxi. 16, 17, 18.

³ Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 38.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xv. 38, 67.

hood, now laid waste round about it, was converted into a huge park. Celerus and Severus rivalled each other in their demands upon the Prince's treasury, and within the enclosed space, designed "fertile fields, pools, artificial solitudes, groves, terraces, and perspectives, everything which in the very heart of a city might produce the illusion of the countryside."¹

Rome, convinced after this that her misfortunes were due to no blind Chance, looked on sadly enough at this fever of restoration, but not without muttered words of discontent. Up to this their ruler's extravagance had been regarded with great indulgence by the common folk : what had they to do, forsooth, with the tragic happenings at court, or with the orgies which dishonored it? Nero took good care to keep the people amused as no Cæsar before him had done, lavishing upon them games and shows, one festival following hard upon another. So long as his follies resulted only in degrading the Emperor and the nobility, the populace applauded. But with the day when they beheld the lower parts of the town, where were the quarters of the poorer classes, in flames, and realized that they were to be driven thence by the insolent encroachments of the imperial domain, then, indeed, their admiration for Nero suddenly ceased. His unpopularity was of course increased at the sight of the blackened walls of the Forum, for with it the most venerable temples of Rome, together with its most time-hallowed relics had disappeared : the sanctuary consecrated to Luna by Servius Tullius ; the altar of Hercules, Evander's handiwork ; the temple dedicated by Romulus to Jupiter Stator ; Numa's Palace ; the Penates of the Roman people ; the masterpieces of Greek art, trophies of so many victories, — all were wiped away.² In vain Nero endeavored to dazzle them by the splendors of the new city ; mournfully they stood by with averted gaze, — the blow had pierced Rome's heart.

¹ Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 42 ; Suetonius, *Nero*, 38.

² Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 41 ; Suetonius, *Nero*, 38.

II. THE MASSACRE OF THE CHRISTIANS.

Nero was too fond of the intoxication which he was wont to imbibe from the plaudits of the multitude to resign himself to the present situation, marking only the long countenances of his subjects, and hearing only the whispered criticisms of his whilom friends.

"What is the good of all these open spaces where the sun beats down upon us?" they murmured; "the shady nooks of our old streets were better far."¹

To divert their minds from these bitter broodings he tried to interest them in religious ceremonies. But in vain. The Sibylline Books had been opened, and what was prescribed therein accomplished: prayers to Vulcan, to Ceres, to Proserpine, lustrations of the Roman ladies, supplications, holy vigils.² Nothing he could do, however, could smother the sense of a wrong done to them, which daily waxed more insistent in its demands for the culprit, until its cries rose to the very ears of the Prince himself. At all costs he must needs find some victim as a scapegoat before the people. Like a lost man Nero scanned the whole earth for some outlet from this maze. At last some one suggested the Christians, and at once, with an impetuosity which was spurred on by fear and spite, he seized at the idea.

How did this sudden change come about, and, first of all, what was the general opinion concerning the disciples of Jesus? Undoubtedly their numbers, which at first glance seemed enormous, — "an immense multitude,"³ says Tacitus, — had brought them into prominence even then. But, besides this, there were abominable stories circulated concerning them, and their kinship by origin with the Jews quite sufficiently compromised them in public opinion. Indeed the East was looked upon as the main cesspool of iniquity. "The sewerage which con-

¹ Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 43.

² Ibid. xv. 44.

³ Ibid, *Annal.*, xv. 44. St. Clement of Rome makes use of the same expression: πολλὸν πλήθος ἐκλεκτῶν. *Ad Corinth.*, i. 6.

taminates our reservoirs," Juvenal declared, "is the Orontes, that Syrian stream which disgorges its filth into the Tiber."¹

As soon as Nero evidenced any desire to catch the culprits, all eyes turned instinctively to the Jewish quarters. Had not the fire started upon their boundaries? and had not its progress been checked at the very regions where the Jews were to be found in largest numbers, the districts of Porta Capena and Trastevere?² Even their writings betrayed them, always harping upon the purification of the world through sword and flames: "On that same day," it is written in the Book of Henoch, "blood shall flow in waves like a stream. . . . From the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof, they shall slay one another. The steed shall wade in the blood of the sinner, until his very breastplate be wet, and the chariot up to the axle-trees. Woe unto you, sinners, for ye shall burn in a bed of flames!"³ These threats are re-echoed by the song of the Jewish Sibyl: "From heaven there shall fall fiery swords upon the earth; huge torches shall fall likewise, and shall blaze in the midst of mankind. . . . God shall judge them all . . . by fire."⁴

Between the preaching of crime and its commission there is little difference, according to popular logic; there is still less between suspicion and certainty. The Jews realized that they were marked out for victims, and to save themselves straightway cast all the odium of the conflagration and the Emperor's cruelties upon the Christians. One line of St. Clement's, apparently vague, but most significant in its deep meaning, establishes this fact beyond peradventure.

"This persecution," he writes, "was due to jealousy."⁵

The expression is obscure if we take it to mean the

¹ Juvenal, *Sat.*, iii. 62.

² See *St. Peter*, chap. xiv.

³ *Das Buch Henoch* (ed. Dillmann), chap. 100.

⁴ *Carm. Sibyl.*, iii. 672 *et seq.* This expectation of a fearful conflagration occurs again and again in the Sibylline Apocalypses. i. 199 *et seq.*; iii. 72 *et seq.*, 82 *et seq.*; vii. 118 *et seq.*, 141 *et seq.*; viii. 203 *et seq.*, 217 *et seq.*, 237 *et seq.*

⁵ St. Clement, *Ad. Cor.*, 5.

animosity between Pagans and Christians, or internal feuds among the latter: his meaning is clear as soon as we apply it to the Jews. The aversion displayed by Israel toward the disciples of the Crucified is matter of history; we have encountered it at every step in this recital of the beginnings of Christianity, ever growing in intensity, approaching nearer and nearer to the new centre, becoming finally a sectarian warfare, a family feud.

The obscurity of the Church at Rome must have spared it for a long while from any such violent demonstrations, since, on Paul's arrival, the heads of the Roman Synagogue frankly avowed their ignorance of the new doctrine.¹ But a new era began with the appearance of the Apostle. Its propagandists, inflamed by his ardor, proclaimed the Gospel from the housetops;² he himself, more than all the rest combined, helped to spread it; for the words uttered by this man, free even though in fetters, gained great renown in the Prætorium, at court, and throughout the town.³ When the Apostle departed after his two years' imprisonment, he left behind him a very different body of believers, no longer wrapped in shadows, but standing forth in the light of day, firm and prosperous. Thenceforth the hostility of the Jews was a matter of course: while now, made all the keener as their own peril grew more threatening, it burst all bonds. The weapon they used was a calumny which would ensure them at once safety and revenge.

Furthermore, nothing could be easier than to make Pagans believe that the Church had foretold their sorrows. Quite as often as the Israelites, and perhaps more openly, the Christians had been wont to speak of the final conflagration and the flames which should chase away the abominations of the new Babylon. The prophecy which Peter, then their acknowledged Head, was to indite two years later had long been maturing in his mind, and his instructions were repeated by his flock:—

“The heavens and the earth are to-day reserved unto

¹ Acts xxviii. 22.

² Philip. i. 14.

³ Ibid., i. 12, 13; iv. 22.

fire, against the Day of Judgment and the perdition of ungodly men. . . . The day of the Lord will come as a thief, and on that day, amid the howling of the storm, the heavens shall pass away, the elements shall melt with fervid heat, the earth also shall be burned up together with all which it contains."¹

This alone made them suspicious of the new teaching. The Jews were quick to see their advantage and were easily enabled to disseminate their suspicions among the higher classes, for their influence at court was almost equal to that of the favored few. Their intrigues during the reign of Caligula and Claudius had been more than successful, as we have seen;² naturally they were no less active in Nero's time. Slaves, freedmen, and actors of their race thronged about him;³ Poppæa, half Jewess as she was, was now acknowledged by all as mistress of the court. What more was needed to accomplish the ruin of that detested folk?

The Emperor, angered by the public threats, was too much concerned in clearing his own skirts, to take time for verifying the proofs of these accusations. Like a hound he dashed upon this new scent with all the passionateness of his worst days, with all the instincts of a wild beast. True, he had but to extend his hand in order to seize his victims; in his own palace were Christians with whom Paul the prisoner had been in close relation;⁴ others equally distinguished both by birth and wealth were well known in Rome.⁵ Many of them when cast into prisons confessed their faith with generous fearless-

¹ 2 Peter, iii. 7, 10.

² *St. Peter*, chaps. vi., viii., x.

³ Mommsen, *Inscript. regni Neap.*, 6467; Josephus, *Vita*, 3.

⁴ Philip. i. 13; iv. 22.

⁵ Though to me it seems possible that Christians of high rank would naturally be exposed to the first onslaughts of persecution, it is but fitting to add that believers of this class constituted, evidently, a very small minority in the Roman Church. The "great multitude" Tacitus speaks of belonged to the plebeians, the *humiliores*, who by law were liable to be flogged, burned at the stake, crucified, cast before wild beasts in the amphitheatre. (Paul, *Sentent.* v. xxix. 1. "Humiliores bestiis obijciuntur vel vivi exurtur; honestiores capite puniuntur.") Nero might go to any extremes with this throng legally abandoned to his tender mercies.

ness. Tacitus, it is true, accuses these first victims of having yielded to torture and of having denounced their brethren;¹ however, on the other hand, he shows himself elsewhere so badly informed and so unjust toward all Christians, that this calumny has met with very little credence; all that we can infer from it is that the heads of the Christian community, having been arrested unexpectedly, their writings, together with the names of the believers found in their possession, served as a means of identification for the Roman police. The persecutors were in every event guided promptly and surely, for the first arrests were succeeded by an unnumbered throng of others; "the multitude"² incarcerated in its prisons was so formidable that Rome itself was alarmed.

It was far easier to lay hands upon this crowd of innocent people and to harrow them by the state tortures than it was to convict them of the crime of arson; but, this crime not proven, there was still the avowal of their faith, their abstention from the state worship, as well as from the public life and customs of Pagan society. Some deemed them guilty of a general "hatred of all human kind,"³ — a vague accusation, but one well calculated to strike the vulgar mind, and quite analogous to that terrifying expression "*suspect*," which has been a source of agony to so many innocent victims in this land of mine. There were even some more enlightened minds who went further in their hatred. Tacitus, as we know, takes the very worst meaning out of all their words and acts: in his eyes, Christianity is simply an "execrable superstition," a madness fallen upon "men detestable for their hateful practices."⁴ Still, some sympathy is shown in

¹ Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 44. Monsieur Paul Allard has devoted much serious study in his narrative of the persecutions to a criticism of all the texts which make any mention of it. We cannot do better than refer our readers to his learned work: *Histoire des persécutions pendant les deux premiers siècles* (1892), pp. 35-57.

² Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 44.

³ "Haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odio generis humani convicti sunt." Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 44.

⁴ "Exitibilis superstitio . . ." "Per flagitia invisos." Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 44.

his description of their sufferings. Suetonius does not grant them even these few crumbs of commiseration; unreservedly he praises Nero for having deluged the world with the blood of a new and mischievous sect.¹ However, we should be far astray if we took the opinions of these historians as those prevailing at the time of the first persecution. Remember, they wrote a half-century later, they are speaking the language of their own day, they share its passionate hatred, together with all the vile prejudices which had risen up against a Church which, everywhere increasing, threatened to do away with Paganism in short order. In 64 the Christians of Rome inspired no such fears. Although even then they knew that they were charged with all sorts of imaginary abominations, denounced as the foes of God and men, nevertheless, in this instance it is to Nero, to the coterie about him, especially to the Jews, that the infamy of this charge must be attributed.

Furthermore, it was not simply by such calumnies that the persecutors reckoned upon making the Christians odious. There was also the horrible nature of the punishment which should deepen the public sense of their crime. They were fully convinced that, upon seeing the victims doomed to unheard-of torments, the mob would be finally convinced that they were really guilty. To this end the most refined tortures were invented, and Nero resolved to make the occasion one of those gory festivals ever dear to the populace which had been without them ever since the great disaster. In fact, Rome had not thrown off its mourning garb since the terrible conflagration. After nine days' struggle against that terrible scourge, the citizens saw naught about them save heaps of rubbish, blackened walls which were being pulled down on every side; but no meeting-place, no room for pleasure. Weariness had settled down upon them, weariness — more dangerous to tyrants than open revolt. How

¹ "Afflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novæ et maleficæ." Suetonius, *Nero*, 16.

was he to afford them once more those joys of the amphitheatre which had become to them as necessary as their daily bread? The Great Circus, although the first prey of the flames, still smouldered, only half consumed. That of Flaminius stood on the outskirts of Mars' Field, one of the wards destroyed in the second outbreak of the fire. But even if these buildings should prove still secure (which would seem more than doubtful), would it be possible to inaugurate his festival there in the very sight of a ravaged waste, with its Temples and Sacred Porches still blackened with smoke?¹

Nero's mind naturally reverted to the gardens which he possessed on the further bank of the Tiber, at the foot of the Vatican Hill. In this domain of his stood the Circus whither he was wont to summon the populace to various exhibitions. Thither, again, he bade them come to witness this act of public expiation. But this time the cruelty of his councillors, egged on by his own beastly instincts, had together invented such an abominable scene of butchery that Rome itself shrank back aghast. Well do we know how habituated these people were to scenes of blood. The gladiators' combats which they were always so passionately fond of had been the cause, year after year, of hundreds, nay, thousands, of men perishing before their eyes.² A still crueler custom had been long in vogue: prisoners of war, condemned to death, were cast as prey before the wild beasts of the amphitheatre; and lest there should ever be lack of subjects to furnish this horrible spectacle, from all the provinces of the empire there were despatched to Rome troop after troop of these victims, doomed to help out the public games. Hardened as were the folk to such scenes of slaughter, Nero succeeded at last in disgusting them by adding to the horror of torture both mockery and abuse.

The festival set for the early days of August began

¹ Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 40.

² Suetonius, *Cæsar*, 10; Plutarch, *Vita Cæsar*is, v.; Horace, *Sat.*, ii. iii. 84; Perseus, vi. 48, etc.

at dawn of day, with a series of combats between wild beasts; this lasted, according to custom, the whole morning.¹ Nero had no idea of letting any of the Christians appear at this stage, as it might have given them some occasion of exhibiting their courage. Desirous of furnishing his audience with a spectacle of bloodshed and torture only, he gave orders that they be conducted in single file upon the scene, and then made to run the gantlet of their jailers. Lofty posts made in the form of crosses had been set up around the arena. To these one set of the martyrs had been either bound or nailed; whereupon his lions and panthers were set upon them to crunch and tear their limbs.² Still other believers were set apart for far more barbarous devices of torture. The term "venationes,"³ once applied to fights between wild beasts, had suggested to his mind the diabolical idea of wrapping his victims in the skins of animals; thus muffled, they were thrown into the Circus, to become the sport of dogs trained to hunt down such animals. These brutes⁴ had been carefully selected for their extreme ferocity,⁵ and soon tore them to pieces and devoured them.

We may easily fancy that women were in no wise spared in this carnival of butchery. Saint Clement of Rome tells us of Christian ladies, "in this great multitude of God's chosen ones, who, after long exposure to insults and tortures, even then furnished us with noble examples of fortitude."⁶ Although compelled to enact, some the rôle of Danaïdes, others that of Dircæ, "they bore it all," he tells us, "impious and terrible as were these outrages, and thus have they attained unto the

¹ The custom during the Empire of inaugurating the public festivals with animal combats caused them to be known as the *Ludus Matutinus*. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, t. iii. : DIE SPIELE, 4, 2.

² Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 44.

³ Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, t. iii. : DIE SPIELE, 1, 2, 6; Friedlaender, *Mœurs romaines*, t. ii., lib. vi., chap. iii. 3.

⁴ "Pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contacti laniatu canum interirent." Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 44.

⁵ Strabo, *Geogr.*, iv. 5.

⁶ St. Clement of Rome, *Ad Cor.*, i. 6.

Divine goal of our Faith; and, weak in body though they may have seemed, they have won the prize of Glory." It was in the afternoon, most probably, that these abominations, so delicately referred to by the Bishop of Rome, took place. To the onlookers, now sated to the point of disgust at such cowardly cruelties, Nero proceeded to offer some of those mythological scenes which always appealed to the baser instincts of the mob, and were as much in favor as were the gladiators' sports. For blood-shedding, voluptuousness, and death, each had its special charm in their eyes.

The brilliancy of the scenery and costumes, together with a perfection of stage mechanism which gave almost the appearance of reality, all these were no novelty to his public. And hence, to pique their curiosity, he was wont to have all the parts in these fabulous dramas played after a most realistic fashion. Thus, when any part called for the torture or death of some actor, they solved the difficulty by casting a condemned criminal for the rôle. There is hardly one scene of terror recounted in legend or history which Rome had not witnessed revived after this fashion for its amusement: Hercules begirt with flames; Ixion bound to the wheel; Orpheus devoured by a bear; Attys actually mutilated in their presence; Pasiphaë delivered over to the bull; Dædalus precipitated from the sky, and the robber Laureolus nailed to the cross.¹ From Greece, which would have shrunk in horror from such monstrosities, he had oftenest borrowed both the theme and the circumstances of these representations, at the same time, however, disfiguring all her most poetical conceptions by these brutal plagiarisms. The fad of living pictures, that is to say, plastic groups supposed to reproduce the masterpieces of art, was at this time all the rage. Many of these unfortunate Christians were compelled to enact in its reality a sanguinary tragedy which the celebrated statuary in Naples² and the fres-

¹ Tertullian, *Apolog.*, 15; *De pudicit.*, 22; Suetonius, *Nero*, 12; Martial, *Spectac.*, v., vii., viii., xxi.

² The group known by the name of the *Farnesian Bull*. After its dis-

cos at Pompeii¹ represent to this day: the sons of Antiope, to avenge their mother, binding Dircē to the bull which was destined to drag her over the crags of Helicon.² In like manner, tied by their hair to the horns of maddened beasts, these Christian women were tossed and kicked to pieces in the very presence of a throng gloating over their torn and palpitating members.

St. Clement, together with the Dircēs, mentions the Danaïdes as having also watered the arena with their blood, without telling us, however, what sort of tortures were assigned to the latter. The perforated cask which the fifty daughters of Danaüs were doomed forevermore to fill, certainly offers no opportunity for a very dramatic scene; but, in Tartary, at least, every sort of torture had been attributed to them by folk-lore; from these fables it was no difficult feat to borrow enough of the horrible to add zest to the monotony of their punishment. At all events, as St. Clement witnesses, no pains were spared to affront their Christian modesty.³ Yet what cared these virgin martyrs in the cause of Christ for any physical outrages? Their bodies were as naught to these souls self-consecrated to God. Well might Nero and his shameless crew seize them as their prey; in their resurrection they would but appear all the more glorious and spotless in His sight.

The Emperor's ferocity was not glutted even after a whole day's enjoyment of this spectacle. Still other victims had been reserved for the evening. Always Rome had delighted in gay festivals of the night, scenes of fairy-land, bonfires, and sparkling illuminations lighting up her

coverly in the baths of Caracalla it was transported to the Farnesian Palace, and now stands in the Museum of Naples.

¹ *Memoria della R. Accademia Ercolanese*, t. ii. pp. 386 *et seq.*; vol. iv. part 1; vol. vii. pp. 1 *et seq.*

² "Dircen ad taurum crinibus religatam necant." Hyginus, *Fabulæ*, 8.

³ *Αἰκίσματα θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων παθοῦσαι*. St. Clement, *Ad Cor.*, i. 6. Nero was capable of every conceivable infamy. The hideous details left us by his historians give some idea of what the Christian women had to endure when abandoned to the mercy of such a monster. Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 37; Suetonius, *Nero*, 29; Dion Cassius, lxi. 13, 22.

lovely skies.¹ Nero never let slip any opportunity to win popularity by such means. In the year 60, when inaugurating the Quinquennial Games, he had taken care to give orders that this kind of entertainment should last day and night.² Nero's nocturnal festival in 64 still sheds its baleful light adown the pages of history.

On this occasion the Christians were clothed in the horrible "tunic of the incendiaries,"³ made of a tissue soaked in pitch, resin, and sulphur; thereafter, bound or impaled upon huge stakes, they made a line of living torches along the road. At nightfall, when the Imperial Gardens were opened to the populace, these human flambeaux were lighted, and beneath the flickering flames races were run. In these the Emperor himself took part, dressed in a driver's habit, at times directing his own chariot, then again stepping out and mingling with the crowd. But he had gone too far; this was too much; amid the popular acclamations there arose a murmur of horror and pity distinctly audible to him. Even those who were most convinced of the guilt of his victims were indignant at the thought that it "was not at all for the general good, but merely to satiate the cruelty of a single person that they were thus immolated."⁴

Nero made his exit from this scene of bloodshed a disappointed man, still feeling that terrible burden of reprobation weighing upon him which for the last month he had felt dragging him down, and which he had vainly striven to shake off. The real triumph still belonged to the brethren of these martyrs, to that multitude of believers which his guardsmen had been unable to apprehend. They had been there, though, all through that cruel night, sustaining the witnesses of their faith by their presence. Beholding these holy ones fastened to the spikes which pierced their entrails, burning and roast-

¹ Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*: DIE SPIELE, i. p. 474; Friedlaender, *Mœurs romaines*, book vii. chap. i.

² Tacitus, *Annal.*, xiv. 19, 20, 21; xvi. 5.

³ The *tunica molesta*, Juvenal, *Sat.*, i. 155-157; viii. 233-335; Martial, *Epigr.*, x. xxv. 5.

⁴ Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 44.

ing in unspeakable torments,¹ they learned the lesson of a noble pride in that Christ Who had given to weak creatures such superhuman courage and holy serenity amid fearful tortures; more earnestly than ever before they renewed their vows to this Divine Master, to live and die for Him.²

These, then, were the first fruits and glories of the Roman Church, trophies of wide-reaching importance for the future; since it was the means of ensuring her permanence in that locality whence by God's will she was thereafter to rule the souls of men. This domain of the Vatican which had drunk of Christian blood was to remain ever sacred in the eyes of Her subjects, was to become, as it were, the heart of Rome, and to be regarded as holy ground. Nor will it be long ere we shall see them bearing thither the body of the Head of the Church, thus transforming Nero's Gardens into the very See of Peter, than which no place in the world is more venerated, save only the Holy Sepulchre of our Divine Lord.

¹ *Pone Tigellinum, tæda lucebis in illa
Qua stantes ardent, qui fixo gutture fumant
Et latum media sulcum diducis arena.*

Juvenal, Sat., i. 155-157.

The satirist, according to all appearances, has in mind this nocturnal festival of 64, and attributes to Tigellinus the horrible invention of these living torches.

² "In two of his letters to Lucilius it would seem that Seneca, in his retirement from the world and while in the sumptuous solitude of his beautiful villas, expiating the weaknesses of his life, makes some allusion to the awful spectacle prepared by Nero for the delectation of the Roman people: 'The executioner's sword, the burning flame, the clank of chains, the hosts of ferocious beasts glutting themselves on human entrails, imprisonment and the cross, the rack and the hook, the stake thrust into the victim's trunk and protruding through his head, dismembered limbs, and the tunic coated and interwoven with inflammable material (Ep. xiv.) . . . Amid such sufferings some uttered not a groan, — that is not so much; nor cried quarter, — that is not so much; nor answered one word, — that is not so much; but rather smiled, and smiled out of a full heart' (Ep. 78). The ineffable smile of the humble Christian expiring for his God in the Vatican Gardens, pursued and thrilled the imagination of Nero's former tutor like a vision at once sweet and poignant. In common with all Romans of his day, Seneca had often seen men die; he had never seen them die like this." Paul Allard, *Histoire des persécutions pendant les deux premiers siècles*, pp. 54-55.

CHAPTER VII.

FIRST GENERAL PERSECUTION.

I. THE EDICT OF PERSECUTION.

EVERY battlefield presents but a wrecked and often deserted aspect on the morrow after the strife. This one, whereon the Church of Rome had just given such a magnificent demonstration of its heroism, outwardly appeared given over to desolation in the period following the massacres of the Vatican heroes. The prisons, crowded to suffocation as they were, had no room for the multitude of Christians arrested in the capital of the empire. Those whom the magistrates had not committed during the period of judicial investigation, found no difficulty in concealing themselves in the great city, for the masses were in a state of wilder confusion than ever before; hunted out of the quarters of the lower classes, where the wreckers were tearing down the ruins, the poor folk had to seek shelter as best they could. Many of the believers, however, considered it their safest plan to leave Rome and to scatter themselves throughout Italy. It is these Christians, thus dispersed abroad, that St. Paul in his letter addresses under the name of Hebrews, an Epistle which we will shortly have to consider.¹

At the beginning of this period the poor fugitives found some semblance of security in the scattered towns where they had sought refuge. At first they were viewed with indifference on the part of the inhabitants, were tolerated by the local officials to whom they were unknown, and consequently enjoyed the unwonted privilege of leading their life of prayer, withdrawal from the world,

¹ Hebr. xiii. 24.

pure and fraternal union unhindered. But the influence and example of Rome little by little drew public attention upon them and soon put obstacles more or less serious in the path of the adorers of Christ, sometimes simply insults,¹ elsewhere acts of bloodshed and violence.

What was the fate, during these days of ill-omen to all Christians, of the poor prisoners who had not been delivered over to the torturers during those August feast-days? No written history of their sufferings has come down to us; nevertheless, there is every reason to believe that the murmurings of the people, which had made themselves audible on that occasion, had likewise put a stop to the massacre.² Their persecutor, too, had found much more advantageous use for the lives which he had been forced to spare. In his haste to see his plan of rebuilding Rome completed, he was impatiently pushing on the work by employing thousands of laborers in his quarries, the sooner to extract the materials wherewith he meant to reconstruct the length and breadth of the city.³ The

¹ In all probability we are justified in supposing that certain inscriptions found in a Pompeian mansion are to be traced back to insults such as these. The name "Christians" charred along the walls of this dwelling has given rise to the belief that it served as a meeting-place for the faithful; and by an ingenious restoration Signor de Rossi extracts from the letters which precede and encircle this name an insolent jest aimed at the Faithful. "Audi Christianos, sævos olores." "Hark to the Christians, the cruel swans." (De Rossi, *Bullettino di archeologia christiana* (1864), p. 69; *Corpus Inscript. Latin.*, vol. iv. pl. xvi. n. 3.) This, in the opinion of the celebrated archæologist, is an allusion to the last words, the Swan's Song, of certain Christian Martyrs, and to the Divine retribution wherewith they threatened their torturers. The hypothesis is certainly not devoid of probability; and with equal likelihood we may regard the sentences encircling it as another bit of raillery flung at Christian teachings: "Here a mule gives lessons to flies." "Falsehood sends greeting to Truth." *MULUS HIC MUSCELLAS DOCTUIT. MENDAX VERACI SALUTEM.* (De Rossi, *Bullettino*, 1864, p. 71.) The inscription written on the outer wall seems also to have been couched in the same spirit: "No room for loafers here; move on, ye loungers." *OTIOSIS HIC LOCUS NON EST, DISCEDE MORATOR.* (*Corpus Inscript. Latin.*, t. iv., p. 813.) There is good reason to believe that the Pompeians did not stop at this, but that acts of violence followed hard upon the heels of insult; for the Jews, here as everywhere the Christians' most formidable foe, had their synagogue close by. De Rossi, *Bullettino*, 1864, p. 70.

² Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 44. ³ *Ibid.*, xv. 45; Suetonius, *Nero*, 31, 38.

number of free or servile workmen huddled together in Rome could not meet his demands, and accordingly orders were sent to the provinces to despatch thither all their convicts.¹ But here, near at hand and in his very grasp, the tyrant had his Christian prisoners; and well did he make use of them. As far as they were concerned, he might rest assured there would be no lack of new recruits; for, though the persecution was no longer a wholesale massacre, as was that of the Vatican, Christian-bating was still the order of the day, and had been extended beyond the walls of the capital and the boundaries of Italy itself, thus furnishing to the master-workmen who were thronging toward Rome with their tools, victims prepared to suffer all things with resignation.

What were the laws by which these iniquitous proceedings were maintained? We have at hand several scraps of testimony which enable us to conjecture the answer to the question, and indicate the view-point of Roman jurisprudence in the premises. At the outset of the persecution, as Tacitus has already told us, Christians "were convicted not so much of the crime of incendiarism as of hating all human kind."² It was, therefore, under the last-named charge that the magistrates condemned them, and that Nero subjected them to such a horrible punishment in the Vatican Garden. Our historian, who regards their faith as an "execrable superstition,"³ makes hardly any distinction between them and the sects which were then thronging Romeward, and were propagating "the most atrocious and shameful teachings

¹ "Quorum operum perficiendorum gratia, quod ubique esset custodiæ in Italian deportari, etiam scelere convictos non nisi ad opus damnari, præceperat." Suetonius, *Nero*, 31.

² "Haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis convicti sunt." Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 44. "Perhaps they may have allowed the charge of incendiarism to stand so far as the first arrests were concerned; but as to the multitude of accused that came after them, it was not as incendiaries but as 'enemies of the human race,' that they were condemned to various forms of punishment." Allard, *Le Christianisme et l'Empire romain*, p. 15.

³ "Exitiabilis superstitio." Ibid.

of foreign lands.”¹ Suetonius also uses much the same language, and charges the Christians with spreading “a new and mischievous superstition.”²

These, then, are the only direct accusations against them, known to us, in the period we have in hand. Calumnies they were, of course, and vaguely worded, it is true; nevertheless sufficiently damaging when we consider their bearing. What, indeed, was meant by that “hatred of all mankind,” if it was not the secluded life and systematic withdrawal from the world which Christianity seemed to teach the faithful? Yet there was no other way of escaping the idolatry and immorality of their environment, save to shun all religious festivals, public games, and sometimes even family intercourse. Thus it came about that they were regarded as a very exclusive set, forbidding in appearance, and generally supposed to be a party of malcontents, simply because their members kept away from public functions, did not enter the militia, refused to take the oath when making contracts, would not illuminate their dwellings during Pagan solemnities,³ and, finally, deemed themselves but strangers and pilgrims on this earth.⁴ Then, when the time came, when in Rome they had become that “multitude”⁵ whereof Tacitus speaks, then not merely the common folk, but great statesmen as well, realized that an unconquerable power was growing up in their very midst, one calculated to disturb,

¹ “Erumpebat . . . per urbem . . . quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt.” Ibid.

² “Afflicti suppliciis christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novæ et maleficæ.” Suetonius, *Nero*, 16.

“These words imply permanent and systematic repression, urging as its provocation ‘the novelty’ and the mischievous quality of the Christian ‘superstition.’ The context must be studied if we would grasp its full meaning, for the phrase which we have just quoted is but one extract from a lengthy enumeration of measures meant to be permanent, judicial rulings, laws, and edicts, all having for their object the repression of abuses and the firmer establishment of public order.” Allard, *Le Christianisme et l'Empire romain*, p. 17.

³ Tertullian, *De Idol.*, 17; *De Cor.*, *mil.*, i. 15.

⁴ 1 Peter ii. 11; Hebr. xi. 13; Tertullian, *Apol.* i, 41; *Epître à Diog-nete*, v. 5.

⁵ Tacitus, *Annal.* xv. 44.

if not to destroy, the social fabric so intimately bound up, in Rome at least, with the traditional worship.

It is true that the Jews also avoided Pagan temples, and we have seen before this that they were often confounded with the disciples of Christ; but at least they had their synagogues, which were official sanctuaries, recognized by law and under the surveillance of the municipal police. The Christians gave them no such hold over them; their gatherings being held in private houses, if possible at night-time, and in all secrecy. Now all this mystery was the more calculated to awaken mistrust from the fact that the secret meetings of the Oriental Rites were always used as a cloak to cover the deepest depravity.¹ Suspicions spread rapidly enough, like those calumnious fables which found ready credence in the succeeding centuries,² charging the faithful with the crimes of which the populace usually accuses magicians and sorcerers,—of child-murder, abominable banquets, and incestuous orgies.³ When Tacitus speaks of the crimes which rendered the new faith odious,⁴ he is only

¹ This recalls the Bacchanals (Titus Livy, xxxix. 16), and the unhappy influence upon the city of their mysterious orgies. In the opinion of Roman statesmen all foreign religions, illicit colleges, midnight gatherings, and infamies of every description followed one another in fatal succession, like a steep descent whereon once you set your foot, you are doomed to be precipitated to the bottom; consequently they deemed no measures too severe, if they would avert such perils.

² "Three accusations are brought against us," says Athenagoras (Legat., 3), "Atheism, the banquet of Thyestes, and the incest of Œdipus; the two last-named calumnies were especially adapted to incite popular hatred, 'the murder of children to be devoured at their midnight feasts, and such like instances of monstrous debauchery.' This is the real meaning of the infamous slanders attached to the name of Christian: 'flagitia coherentia nomini.'" Pliny, *Epistol.*, x. 97.

³ Cicero, *In Vatin.*, vi. 14; Horace, *Epod.*, v.; Juvenal, vi. 522; Arnold (*Die Neronische Christenverfolgung*, pp. 65-66) alludes to the curious fact that magicians are called "enemies of humankind" in the Justinian Code (ix. tit. 18), and the penalties inflicted upon the Christians by Nero are the same to which the laws condemned such as were found guilty of sorcery. "Qui sacra impia nocturnave ut quem obtruncarent, defigerent, obligarent, fecerint, faciendave curaverint, aut crucibus suffiguntur aut bestiis obijciuntur . . . Magicæ artis conscios summo supplicio adfici placuit, id est bestiis obijci aut crucibus suffigi: ipsi autem magi vivi exuruntur." Paulus, *Sent.*, v.

⁴ Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 44.

the echo of certain rumors which after the year 64 were current among the people, until their mutterings became a growl of hatred.

Accordingly Nero found that public opinion was on his side in his treatment of the Christians; that he could even attain his end and arrest them without referring to the ordinary judges. As a matter of fact, it was the duty of the City Prefect, in all urgent cases, to punish any class of men coming under the head of dangerous ill-doers. And in all likelihood it was to this personage that the Emperor, in the month of August, 64, intrusted the task of hunting down the Christians. The method of procedure used against prisoners brought before this delegate of the Emperor was much more expeditious than that of the other courts; the inquest, examination, and sentencing of the accused parties were all got through with after the most summary fashion.¹ Nero now felt himself at once surer of his victims and freer to divert to them, through the dread inspired by their sufferings, those suspicious looks which were still fastened upon him.

Such was the first act in the persecution, — an administrative repression of crimes, falsely imputed to innocent men, despotism and violence given full sway. Did this state of things continue in the period that follows; did they still persist in condemning all Christians, as a police ordinance necessary for the maintenance of good order,

¹ This exceptional course of procedure is designated in the Roman Law as "*cognitio*;" it constituted a special process by which the magistrate gave decision concerning the matter submitted to him, without referring it to the ordinary judges. The Emperors, by arrogating the right of *cognitio* as their own, set themselves up at will as judges both in civil and criminal affairs, and pronounced sentence either directly or through their delegates, but without attempting to obtain the verdict either of a jury or of the Senate. (Mommson, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, vol. ii. p. 925.) The *Præfectus Urbi* was the personage to whom the Emperor delegated this right in Rome. (*Ibid.*, p. 929.) In the provinces the Governors made use of the same process, styled *cognitio*. (*Ibid.*, p. 982.) The reader will find this historical point in Roman Law treated at length by Mommson. *Der Religionsfrevel nach Römischem Recht*, *Historische Zeitschrift* (1890); Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, chaps. ix., x., xi.; Hardy, *Christianity and the Roman Government*, sects. iv., vi., vii.

without going to the trouble of passing any special laws for their suppression? The provincial governors had the same prerogatives and powers as the City Prefect of the Capital. Taking the hint from Rome, did they too proceed as was their wont under exceptional circumstances, applying to the profession of Christianity those punishments which usually were the penalties for the crime of sacrilege or lèse-majesté? This theory has been adopted by very many historians of our times.¹ It appears at first glance to simplify the whole matter, as well as to explain the diverse aspects of its prosecution throughout the Empire, sometimes undertaken only to be abandoned and then renewed again, always pushed forward more or less actively according to the good pleasure of individual magistrates or the fickle demands of the mob.

Nevertheless, there are some very serious objections to be brought against this theory.² First and foremost this, that our most ancient ecclesiastical authors held just the contrary opinion. Not alone the historians of the fourth century, but the Apologists of the preceding ages as well, give us to understand that both Nero and Domitian issued edicts for a general persecution. About the year 170 Melito of Sardis declares that these two Emperors "were the only ones who sought to wipe our Faith out of existence by means of calumny."³ Tertullian, thirty years later, is still more explicit. "All Nero's acts have been abrogated," he tells us; "one only Neronian contrivance subsists," his "condemnation"⁴ of the Christians. Is not this plain enough testimony to the existence of that Edict

¹ Mommsen, *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. lxiv. (1890) pp. 339-424; *Expositor*, July (1893), pp. 5-6; Neumann, *Die römische Staat und die allgemeine Kirche bis auf Diocletian*, 1890, vol. i.; Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 171-374.

² They have been set forth by M. Guérin with such convincingness as to make Mommsen's theory quite untenable; he insists, as does M. Allard (*Histoire des persécutions pendant les deux premiers siècles*, pp. 58-65), upon the existence of proscriptive edicts in the time both of Nero and Domitian.

³ Melito in Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, iv. 26, 9.

⁴ "Sub Nerone damnatio invaluit . . . permansit erasis omnibus hoc solum institutum Neronianum." Tertullian, *Ad Nationes*, i. 7.

of Persecution so often alluded to in the writings of Christian antiquity?

And once its existence is admitted, it certainly becomes easier to clear up certain obscure points in the history of the first persecutions. Granting this, Pliny's correspondence with Trajan in the matter of certain Asiatics denounced as Christians, presents no further difficulties; for while it is well-nigh impossible to conceive why an Imperial Legate should need advice as to the exercise of powers purely despotic; on the other hand, nothing could be more natural than his perplexity when confronted with an implacable statute attainting an enormous throng of individuals, or than the monarch's reply, wherein he goes out of his way to urge his Legate to temper the severities of the law.¹ The same may be said of the methods of procedure which the Acts of the Martyrs are always referring to during this period; in their formal and terse style they all take for granted the fact that there was an Imperial Edict which transformed the mere profession of Christianity into a capital crime. As a matter of fact, we never find the judges investigating as to whether the accused have committed any one of those misdemeanors which come under the head of "Majestas" or "Sacrilegium."

As a general rule the examination was limited to this single question, "Are you a Christian, and are you resolved to remain one?" A simple confession of faith, especially any firmness in professing it, entailed inevitably the conviction of the accused.² It would seem,

¹ The letter to Trajan flatly contradicts the new theories which connect the persecutions with the cultus due to the Emperor, either to the *Sacrilegium* or to the *Majestas*. Guérin, *Nouvelle Revue historique de droit* (1895), p. 636. The study which this learned jurist has devoted to this document warrants his assertion in every particular. Compare Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 196-225; Hardy, *Christianity and the Roman Government*, pp. 102-139.

² "The avowal made thus before a magistrate was styled *confessio*, and the delinquent who had recourse to it was known as a *confessus*, against whom it was no longer necessary to bring any proof of the facts alleged. The *confessio* carried with it certain very serious consequences to the prisoner at the bar; once uttered, there was no more defence possible, and the

therefore, that Sulpicius Severus gives the correct notion of both the origin and further progress of these judicial proceedings. After having narrated the horrors committed in the Vatican Gardens, he goes on to say, "This was the beginning of the persecution of the Christians; afterwards laws were passed interdicting their religion, and by virtue of certain Edicts which were published abroad officially, it was no longer lawful to be a Christian."¹ In all probability Nero issued the first of these Edicts in the period immediately following the August massacres, while Domitian re-enacted them thirty years later.²

II. THE FIRST LETTER OF ST. PETER.

But few authentic traces of Nero's persecution have been unearthed in Rome. Indeed it is difficult to discover on what authority certain traditions are based, when referring the death of many Martyrs to this early date.³ The most illustrious of these Confessors belonged to Milan,—Saints Gervaise and Protaise, Nazarus and Cel-sus. The finding and translation of their relics in the fourth century gave to the names of these Saints a wide

assistance of an advocate became superfluous. The penalty inflicted by the law must be at once pronounced, and Roman lawyers were wont to say, in their terse and energetic style, that the accused passed sentence on himself." (Guérin, *op. cit.*, p. 722.) "It is worthy of note that the Christians adopted this name of *Confessi*, or Confessors of the Faith, as a glorious title indicating that they had affirmed their faith in the face of a magistrate. Had they been prosecuted for sacrilege, *lèse majesté*, or any other offence, they certainly would never have done this. For the *confessio* was then applied to this misdemeanor, and not to the Christian Faith." *Ibid.*, note 1.

¹ Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.*, ii. 41.

² Imperial edicts remained obligatory only during the life of the Prince that uttered them; but they were often confirmed, sometimes by the Senate, sometimes by a succeeding Emperor. Daremberg, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, EDICTUM, p. 451.

³ St. Paulinus and St. Torpetus, of Pisa; St. Romanus of Nepi; St. Ursinus; St. Vitalis; St. Valeria of Ravenna; St. Hermagorus and St. Fortunatus, of Aquileia. See Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique*, vol. ii, PÉRÉCUTION DE L'ÉGLISE PAR NÉRON, and notes iii., iv., v., vi.

renown,¹ but nowhere in contemporary documents concerning these famous solemnities do we find it stated that they suffered in Nero's day. The tradition which assigns them to this date appears for the first time in the sixth century. Was there any foundation for the assertion? We at least know of none; for in the preceding century Paulinus, when writing the life of Saint Ambrose, declares that he had been unable to discover at what time Saint Nazarus was martyred.²

The only quarter of the empire where we come upon any unmistakable marks of the persecution is Asia Minor, and notably the Churches of that country to which Saint Peter addresses his first Epistle. We may assert as an established fact that the Apostle conceived this letter with the idea of helping the faithful to bear the terrible tests they were put to after the massacres at Rome. Everything about it would indicate this design. When writing it Peter evidently had the Epistle to the Ephesians before him; again and again it recurs to his mind and inspires his words. Consequently his letter cannot be of an earlier date than 64. On the other hand, he makes the most manifest allusions to a persecution of far greater proportions than the seditions which, as we have seen, pursued Paul's footsteps in Galatia, or in Macedonia, at Corinth, Ephesus, and Jerusalem.

Of these uprisings the most riotous in character were at worst but fleeting and purely local. Almost always the departure of the Apostle and his companions sufficed to quell the storm. This trial which Peter describes the Church as undergoing has, on the contrary, every appearance of a persecution lowering over all the Asiatic provinces, — Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Proconsular Asia, and Bithynia.³ Indeed this is to state it too mildly, since the text adds that "throughout the whole world ruled by Rome," "Christian communities are made the sport of the

¹ Tillemont, *Mémoires*, vol. ii. : ST. GERVAISE ET ST. PROTAISE ; ST. NAZAIRE ET ST. CELSE.

² *Patrologiæ latinæ* (ed. Migne), vol. xiv. p. 38.

³ 1 Peter i. 1.

self-same afflictions;”¹ “everywhere they were likely to be haled before the courts, there to make answer to such as demanded of them the reason of their hopes.”² The advice he here gives all believers to urge their defence “respectfully, with sweetness and discretion,”³ is another sign that the Apostle had in mind those magistrates of the Empire whom he so urgently bids them honor and obey: “Be ye subject to the King who is over all, as well as to the governors sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them who do right.”⁴ In the Apostle’s letters written previously to the massacres at Rome, we shall look in vain for any such precise admonitions as to the conduct to be observed when brought before the bar of justice. From these facts, therefore, we are justified in drawing two conclusions, one that the Christians were being hunted down through the length and breadth of the Empire, the other that Saint Peter’s letter to the Christians of Asia dates from the time of these persecutions.⁵

Peter notes that he is writing from Rome, which in his letter he designates by the symbolic term of Babylon. Of course it would be well-nigh absurd to take the latter name literally and understand him as meaning the ancient city of the Euphrates. What likelihood is there that the Apostle should have wandered so far afield to a city then tenantless,⁶ and but lately deserted by the remnant of Jews who had clung to the ruins?⁷ Indeed, the Churches of Mesopotamia, anxious as they have always

¹ 1 Peter v. 9.

³ Ibid., iii. 16.

² Ibid., iii. 15.

⁴ Ibid., ii. 13–14.

⁵ In this letter St. Peter exhorts the faithful not to be ashamed of the name of Christians for which they suffer, but to use their own good works to confound such as treat them as evil-doers. Similar expressions occur in the narratives which Roman historians have left us of this persecution. “Quæsitissimis pænis affectit eos, quos per flagitia in visos vulgus *Christianos* appellabat.” Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 44. “Afflicti suppliciis sunt Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novæ et *maleficæ*.” Suetonius, *Nero*, 16. These are certainly curious and interesting resemblances, but to me at least they do not warrant our deducing from them any precise date for the Apostolic letter.

⁶ Strabo, xvi. i. 5; Pliny, *Histor. Nat.*, vi. 26.

⁷ Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, xviii. ix. 8.

been to plume themselves upon their Apostolic origin, have never claimed Peter among their founders. With Papias, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, Saint Jerome,¹ with all antiquity, in fact, they too recognized in the Babylon of this Epistle, the one city then Queen of the World, whose wanton wickedness recalled the capital of Assyria so often anathematized by the Prophets. Christians as well as Jews used this mystical name among themselves, the more freely to stigmatize that pest-hole of iniquity wherein they were forced to live: "the Beast with the blasphemous names," "that great Babylon, the mother of harlots and all the abominations of the earth."² Considering the circumstances they were then living in, it was only natural that Peter should indicate his place of residence under veiled terms. Though at some distance from Rome during the August massacres, he had returned thither to breathe new life into the blood-stained remnant of his Church, yet he could hope to escape the vigilance of the Roman police only by observing the strictest secrecy as to his whereabouts.

Any words spoken by him during the season of trial are made all the more memorable because they come to us like a voice from the realm of the unknown and unchronicled, in which we have been forced to leave the Head of the Church for a period of ten years now past. The part taken by him in the Assembly at Jerusalem and his discussion with Paul at Antioch are the last mentions made of him in our Holy Books; some facts, it is true, we have sought to supply by the aid of Roman tradition, but without trying to deceive ourselves as to the large measure of uncertainty and conjecture in these documents.³ Here our feet are again on solid ground, for the authenticity of the first Epistle of Saint Peter is not questioned by any save the most prejudiced critics, and we have just seen with what perfect probability this letter fits into the circumstances of the first persecution.

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, ii. 15 ; St. Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, iii. 8.

² Apoc. xiv. 8.

³ See *St. Peter*, chap. xviii., ST. PETER'S MINISTRY IN ROME.

The task of bearing Peter's message to the Asiatics was confided to Silvanus, a fellow-worker of Paul's in his second missionary journey.¹ What had become of this disciple since the day we saw him for the last time at Corinth?² At that time we agreed that in all probability, after having followed the Apostle of the Gentiles to Jerusalem, he saw fit to remain there when the latter departed to visit Asia Minor for a third time.³ But Silvanus had led too active a life, and was too imbued with Paul's ideas as to the free scope of the Faith, to dwell for long contented in any communities half Jewish in character, narrow in notions, and close-barred against all ideas of progress. It is unthinkable that he should have been transformed so suddenly and completely in ideas and plans as to see nothing beyond the walls of Jerusalem, or that he should have shut himself up among them for half a score of years (from 55 to 64). No, his zeal for the Apostolate must soon have led him back into Pagan lands, to those Christian congregations which he had evangelized with Saint Paul. Perhaps he was intrusted by the latter with the mission of watching over these communities, acting as a guide and a guardian to them. Perhaps, again, Peter confided to him the same functions as far as concerned the Churches of Bithynia, Pontus, and Cappadocia. Be this as it may, we know from the Apostolic Epistle that Silvanus was just then in the company of Peter, and that he was charged with the responsibility of carrying his messages.⁴ From this it seems we are justified in inferring that this disciple was in closer relationship than any other at his disposal with the Christian congregations of Asia; indeed it would seem reasonable to suppose that he had come thither in their name to inform the heads of the Church of the persecution threatening them, and to seek from their leaders means to enlighten and strengthen their souls.

¹ Acts xv. 40. Silas (Σίλας) is a contraction of Silvanus (Σιλουανός).

² Ibid., xviii. 5.

³ See *St. Paul and His Mission*, chap. ix.

⁴ 1 Peter v. 12.

But Paul had departed upon his journey Spainward, and was no longer at hand to speak words of assurance to his faithful converts. Peter alone remained, and he alone was in a position — let us say rather, under an obligation — to exercise his supremacy and thus prove himself a father and a pastor to the Christians converted by Paul, as well as to his own. Here for the first time we see him making full use of those powers which the Saviour had conferred on him when establishing him as Head of the whole Church. But the time had come for this change; since the rule laid down by the Apostles themselves “not to build upon foundations laid by another,”¹ though expedient in the earlier days, was not so necessary now that the Christian communities, having attained both form and consistency, had each an individual existence of its own.

Five years previous to this Paul had declared his independence of this custom, by writing his Epistle to the Romans. Since then he had not hesitated, during his two years of imprisonment, to evangelize Rome, despite the fact that he was actually within the domain allotted to Peter. The latter acted in like manner so far as concerned the Churches of Asia, and this all the more freely because he felt the bonds of unity between him and the Apostle of the Gentiles drawing them ever closer and closer together. Peter had grown to love this generous heart, whose genius, though very different from his own, yet overflowed with the spirit of the Master, Who was the Life of both. For this reason the Epistles of Paul, “his well-beloved brother,”² were especially dear to him; indeed he had meditated deeply upon them, for the Apostle’s words seemed to him sometimes hard to comprehend.³ This, however, did not prevent his fondness for them; often he seeks his inspiration from them, and this so plainly that, if we may believe certain critics, numerous passages in his first letter are actually borrowed from the writings of Paul. This is, however, an exaggerated view, and one tending to rob the Apostolic Epistle in a way no

¹ Rom. xv. 20.² 2 Peter iii. 15.³ Ibid., iii. 16.

interpreter of sound sense and unprejudiced mind would be willing to justify. Undoubtedly we do come across many striking resemblances in its style to that of Paul; here and there we find the same expressions, the same turn of a sentence, the same counsels concerning the conduct of life, couched in similar terms.¹ From this general conformity it follows, evidently, that Peter retains in his memory the very words of the Apostle of the Gentiles, and that he appropriates them when the occasion calls for it; indeed it is more than likely that at this time he had the Epistles to the Romans and Ephesians at hand,² for between these two documents and Peter's letters there are some curious correspondences to be noted; and yet no matter how far we may push these parallelisms, this Work of the chief of the Apostles is none the less his own; even the very phrases borrowed from Saint Paul take on an individual character as they fall from his pen; he coins them anew and stamps them with his own image and superscription.³

Furthermore, not only in its expression but still more in its conception, the whole work is original with Peter; Christianity, while appearing to him in the same light as it did to Paul, is set forth in his Epistles from a different view-point. For him, one word sums up the Glad Tidings, — Grace, "the true grace of God."⁴ Later on, in his

¹ The student will find a long list of these similarities in Meyer and De Wette's Commentaries, and in Schenkel's Dictionary of the Bible, iv. pp. 496 *et seq.*

² 1 Peter i. 3; Ephes. i. 3: 1 Peter i. 14; Rom. xii. 2: 1 Peter i. 21; Rom. iv.: 1 Peter ii. 1, 2, 5; Ephes. ii. 3; Coloss. iii. 8; Rom. xii. 1: 1 Peter ii. 13; Rom. xiii. 1-4: 1 Peter ii. 16; Gal. v. 13: 1 Peter ii. 18; Ephes. vi. 5: 1 Peter ii. 24; Rom. vi. 18: 1 Peter iii. 1; Ephes. v. 22: 1 Peter iii. 9; Rom. xii. 17: 1 Peter iv. 10, 11; Rom. xii. 6, 7: 1 Peter v. 8; 1 Thess. 5, 6: 1 Peter v. 14: 1 Cor. xvi. 20.

³ Thus St. Paul's phrase "to live in God," ζῶντας τῷ θεῷ, becomes in St. Peter "to live unto justice," τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν (Rom. vi. 11; 1 Peter ii. 24); obedience unto the Faith, εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως, obedience unto the Truth, ἐν τῇ ὑπακοῇ τῆς ἀληθείας (Rom. i. 5; 1 Peter i. 22); "things hidden in the heart," τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας, "the hidden man of the heart," ὁ κρυπτὸς τῆς καρδίας ἄνθρωπος. 1 Cor. xvi. 25; 1 Peter iii. 4.

⁴ 1 Peter v. 12.

second letter, we shall hear him explain what he understands this to mean, — “a participation in the Divine Nature.”¹ Thereafter he does little more than enlarge and comment upon this definition, the most exact, let it be noted, as well as the most complete, which it would be possible to give of this supernatural state.

The first rays of Grace are revealed to his mind's eye as he gazes upon the predestination of the Christ and the calling of the chosen race;² but it is only in the resurrection that it unveils itself in all its splendor. This glorious Mystery becomes to him the focus, as it were, whence stream all light and life: the regeneration of the soul, baptism, faith, hope, merit, and the power to glorify God.³ In other words, the Christ Whom Peter adores and proclaims to mankind, is not so much that Jesus of Bethlehem and Nazareth and the three years of evangelical ministry, but rather the Christ risen from the tomb, the Christ of glory and of eternity. Even in the Passion he sees naught but the resurrected Divinity, cares only to prove Him Conqueror over Death, opening the gates of Hell, “ascending into Heaven, seated at the right hand of God, and there holding sway over Angels, Dominations, and Powers.”⁴ His eyes fixed on this crowning consummation of the Life of Jesus, Peter is all-absorbed with visions of the future and its high hopes; with Eternity also, which to his thought seems so nigh unto us that, when encouraging his faithful followers to bear up under the present persecution, he reminds them time and again that they are but strangers in a land of trial, — wayfarers, who, if they but push forward toward their native land which is their goal, are already within sight of Home.⁵

Such views concerning Faith constantly intermingled with practical advice concerning the Christian virtues, make Saint Peter's Epistle less a didactic work than a sort of homily, a sublime and touching exhortation to the sufferers and martyrs. Here it would be but labor lost

¹ 2 Peter i. 4.

² 1 Peter i. 10-12, 20.

³ Ibid., i. 3, 21; iii. 18-22; iv. 13; v. 1.

⁴ Ibid., iii. 22.

⁵ Ibid., ii. 11.

were we to seek to distinguish, as in the letters of Saint Paul, between the parts devoted to doctrinal discussion, and others following consecrated to moral precepts. Here everything tends, unbrokenly and yet unhampered, toward the one object in view, — to arouse and strengthen their courage in the presence of persecution. Not without a purpose have I insisted so at length upon the originality of this Inspired Document, since it has been so widely contested in our day; nevertheless, I repeat, it would seem that all Peter owed to the Apostle of the Gentiles is the exterior form of his letter; the wide-sweeping sentences, loaded with epigrams so striking and so illuminating that too often the reader's mind halts, diverted from the principal thought which the Author has in view; the greetings, too, which begin and terminate the letter with so much majesty; finally, the Doxologies, which breathe forth the grateful adoration of the writer.

With one of these beautiful hymns of praise to God the letter opens, and its doctrine, as set forth above, is perfectly embodied in it: —

“Blessed be God and the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who, according to His great mercy, hath regenerated us unto a lively hope, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, unto an incorruptible heritage, stainless, unfading, which is reserved in the Heavens, for you whom the power of God guardeth by Faith, that you may partake of the joys of salvation. . . .”¹

At the thought of the merciful designs of the eternal Father, and of Jesus, drawing nigh unto men's souls to breathe therein His life, Peter's first impulse is to break forth in a transport of joy and gratitude toward the Divine Saviour.

“You love Him,” he says to his faithful followers, “although you have not seen Him; you believe in Him, though as yet you see Him not; and therefore you shall be filled with joy unspeakable, glorified, and win salvation for your souls, which is the end and recompense of your Faith.”²

¹ 1 Peter i. 3-5.

² Ibid., i. 8, 9.

This Salvation which the Prophets have hastened by their instant supplications,¹ and which even the Angels envy us, is a boon so priceless that it may well concentrate all our hopes, keep us ever on the alert, and incite us to become holy, even as is the God Who calls us thereto. Peter reduces the rule of sanctity to two principal duties : to keep our souls pure by a loving obedience to the Lord ; to love our brethren without feigning, or rather, with an ardent charity which springs from the depths of the heart.² A little later the Apostle will consider in detail those virtues which go to make up Christian perfection as a whole, but for the present he is content to remind his readers of the immovable foundation whereon they must needs build.

"Being born again, not of corruptible substance, but of an incorruptible, by the Word of God which liveth and abideth forever,"³ theirs is a firm basis, their cornerstone is ever living, and once come in touch with Him, "they too become living stones built into the structure of the Edifice."⁴ Thus the Church is formed, "a Spiritual House, a holy Priesthood, to offer unto God spiritual sacrifice, acceptable unto Him through Jesus Christ."⁵ All, thus united to the Saviour, partake in some measure in the very Being of Him Who is their Divine Head : to all Peter addresses these words : —

"You are a chosen race, a royal Priesthood, a holy nation, a people whom God hath set apart unto Himself, that you may declare the might⁶ of Him Who hath called you out of darkness into His marvellous light."⁷

Let them but keep their gaze fixed upon this heavenly vision, their Eternal Home, and they have naught to do here below, save to press onward as "strangers and travellers, stripping themselves of all carnal desires which war

¹ 1 Peter i. 10-12.

⁴ Ibid., ii. 4, 5.

² Ibid., i. 22.

⁵ Ibid., ii. 5.

³ Ibid., i. 23.

⁶ *Tās áperàs* : literally, "the virtues," — that is to say, the all-powerful and merciful action of God.

⁷ 1 Peter ii. 9.

against the soul,¹ ever on their guard, more vigilantly now than of yore, since they are journeying through a world grown doubly hostile and malevolent in its persecutions.

"Wherefore conduct yourselves honestly among the Gentiles," pursues the Apostle; "they accuse you of being 'a mischievous set;'² see to it that on the day which they shall set for your examination³ they shall be constrained to glorify God, beholding your good deeds." Whereupon he proceeds to discuss at length the fruits of a Christian life: submissiveness to all established authority, to the Emperor first as their over-lord, and to the governors appointed by him. Nevertheless, it must be the obedience of free men, who, liberated by Christ, are no longer slaves of aught save duty, righteousness, and God; wherefore, "honor all men, love the brotherhood, fear God, respect the King."⁴ No class nor condition of life is omitted: "Slaves be subject to your masters with all deference, not only to such as are good and kind, but also to the harsh and froward." And if it be that when doing good you suffer unjustly, remember that it is to this you are called, "because the Christ by suffering for you, has left you an example, that you might follow in His footsteps. . . . Who when he was reviled, reviled not, . . . but delivered Himself to Him who judgeth justly."⁵

"And you, women, be subject to your husbands; win them back to the Faith if they have wandered from it, without wearying them with many words, but simply by the purity of your conduct. Adorn yourselves, not outwardly by curling of the locks, trinkets of gold, or the fineness of your

¹ 1 Peter ii. 11.

² *Κακοποιῶν*. As we have seen above, Suetonius expresses himself in similar terms: "Superstitionis novæ et maleficæ." *Nero*, 16.

³ *Ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς*, in die visitationis. "Diem visitationis Œcumenius, Aria Montano suffragante, exponit inquisitionem hominum mundanorum, scilicet eorum qui male de Christianis loquebantur." This interpretation of Œcumenius, Estius regards as most plausible.

⁴ 1 Peter ii. 17, 25.

⁵ *Παρεδίδου δὲ τῷ κρινοντι δικαίως*. Sensus igitur græcæ lectionis est: Christus non seipsum vindicabat, sed tradebat seu committebat causam suam Deo, qui juste judicat, judicandam et vindicandam." Estius, *in loco*.

apparel; rather adorn the invisible man hidden in the heart, by the incorruptible purity of a gentle and peaceable spirit, which is of such great value in the sight of God. . . . Likewise you, husbands, live wisely with your wives, giving honor to this weaker sex, which is heir even as you to that grace which giveth life.”¹

“In fine, let there be between you a unity of feeling, kindly forbearance, love of the brotherhood, compassionate charity, and humility. Do not return evil for good, nor insult for insult; answer only with words of benediction; for unto this have you been called.”²

Here we have not so much an ideal sketch of Perfection as it was set forth in Apostolic times, but rather a faithful picture of the Christian life, as it then existed in very many Churches. “And who is he,” cries Peter, “who would wish to do you wrong if your only thought be but to do good?”³ Yet forthwith, his mind recalled to the sad realities of the present, to that persecution that was threatening, nay, even now harassed his faithful followers in Asia, “But if, notwithstanding,” he adds, “we must needs suffer for righteousness’ sake, be glad and rejoice! Fear not the evils wherewith they shall try to terrify you, and be not troubled thereby, but sanctify the Lord, the Christ in your souls.”⁴ Be always ready to answer [before the bar of justice] with modesty and respect toward whosoever shall ask of you the reason of the hope which is within you. In all things preserve a clear conscience, so that those who malign the holy life which you lead in the Christ shall blush for having thus defamed you.”⁵ In case that even your manifest innocence does not disarm them, you have but to lift your eyes unto the Christ, “Who likewise suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that He might lead you unto God.”⁶

And how wide-reaching and generous is this Redemp-

¹ 1 Peter, iii. 1-7.

³ Ibid., iii. 13.

² Ibid., iii. 8-9.

⁴ That is to say, they should be a temple, a sanctuary, wherein Jesus abides; thenceforth what trouble could shake their souls?

⁵ 1 Peter iii. 14-16.

⁶ Ibid., iii. 18.

tion! When the Soul of Jesus, for awhile separated from His Body, descended into Limbo, it found among the other prisoners there many sinners who had repented what time the Deluge swallowed up all save such as were in the ark of Noë. The world might well believe that only those eight persons had escaped the universal condemnation. But the Divine Mercy had discerned among that throng of victims some penitent hearts, and Jesus went to them, that by publishing unto them the Glad Tidings for the last time He might accomplish their purification and conduct them into Paradise. The waters of the Deluge had but prefigured the waters of Baptism; but how much more fruitful are the latter for our Salvation! ¹ "The Christ, therefore, having suffered death in His flesh, be you likewise armed with the same thought," ² with this resolution to suffer and to die in Him.

No thought occurs oftener in the course of the Epistle than this earnest exhortation to seek strength from the Passion of Jesus, and from the Blood Divine which waters our souls at every outpouring of Grace.³ Unto this Peter looked as to the source of all strength and of all patience, those two virtues doubly necessary to his followers in these trying times. His aim was not, as was the case with Paul in the majority of his letters, to clear up disputed points of doctrine, to wage war against certain errors threatening the Faith, or against internal dissensions and a disorderly conduct of life. The persecution which was born of the inherent antagonism between the religion of Christ and Pagan customs, was monopolizing all their thoughts; accordingly we find that it is the sole danger singled out by the Apostle as threatening them: "They think it strange indeed that you no longer run with them, as once you did, into the same slough of debauchery,"⁴ wherefore it is that they take occasion to heap

¹ Here I thought I could not do better than simply summarize the commentary of Estius; for no more satisfactory interpretation of this difficult passage has as yet been given.

² 1 Peter iv. 1.

³ Ibid., i. 2, 11, 19; ii. 21-24; iii. 18; iv. 1, 13; v. i.

⁴ This passage would seem to imply that the persecution was set on

their curses upon you.”¹ Face to face with this deadly hatred, Peter strives to fortify the faithful by mingling, ever more tenderly, words of comfort and consolation the while he bids them be of good courage in the presence of their foes.

“My dearly beloved, be not astonished at the burning flame which is within your midst, . . . as though something extraordinary were befalling you; rejoice rather for that you are made partakers in the sufferings of the Christ; be exceedingly glad in the manifestation of His Glory. If you be insulted because of the Name of the Christ, rejoice, for the Spirit of Glory, the Spirit of God, resteth upon you; but let none of you suffer as a murderer or thief, as an evil-doer, or as a meddler in the affairs of others; but if he suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed; let him rather glorify God!”

The last thought which still preoccupied the Apostle's mind when bringing his letter to a close, rose from his anxiety in regard of the maintenance in every Christian congregation of perfect unity, obedience, a thorough and stern discipline in the face of the enemy. The Episcopate not being as yet constituted in the Churches of Asia, their government still continued to be exercised as in the early days, by a body of Pastors.² Unity of action among these several heads, purity of living, and an absolute de-

foot by Pagans, and not by Jews, and that the most frequent cause for it is to be found in the refusal of the Christians to take part in their ceremonies and licentious festivals.

¹ 1 Peter iv. 4.

² There is in fact nothing in the Epistle to indicate that we should regard these “Elders” (*πρεσβυτέρους*) as Bishops in the proper sense of the word. It was only two years later, in 66, that, as we shall see, Paul puts Timothy over the Church of Ephesus, intrusts him with the functions of the Episcopate, with a charge to govern Priests and Deacons, to censure them and to entertain accusation brought against them, and administer justice. (1 Tim. iii. 1-13; iv. 12; v. 17, 19-20.) Hitherto, in all likelihood, the direction of the Christian congregations in Asia had remained in the hands of certain Colleges of Priests, which were visited and superintended in the name of the Apostles by some of the more renowned among their disciples, — Epaphras for the region of the Lycus, Silvanus for all Asia.

pendence on the Christ, the Prince of Pastors, — all these were of more urgent necessity than ever. Of this Peter reminds them, adjuring them to feed the flock of God intrusted to their care; not perfunctorily, because it is their profession, but willingly from a sincere inclination;¹ not for filthy gain, but out of a full heart,² generously, thinking far less of lording over their flocks than of showing an example to be copied. For this alone as their reward, they shall receive from the Sovereign Pastor “a never-fading crown of glory;”³ but as for their flocks,⁴ one word sums up all their duties, — humble submissiveness.

“Be you humble, therefore,” Peter concludes, “under the mighty hand of God; leaving it unto Him to exalt you when the time shall come; casting all your care upon Him, for He hath charge over you. Be sober and on your guard. Your adversary the Devil, like a roaring lion, prowleth about you, seeking whom he may devour. Withstand him, firm in the Faith, knowing that your brethren scattered throughout the world are suffering the same afflictions as you.

“The God of all grace Who hath called you unto His everlasting Glory in Christ Jesus, after you have suffered for a short season, will Himself accomplish your perfection, will strengthen you, fortify you, and establish you upon an immovable foundation. To Him be glory and empire for ever and ever. Amen.”⁵

Such is the letter of St. Peter to the Churches of Asia, the first of those encyclicals which, once sent forth from Rome, have never since that day ceased to instruct and edify the world. The Chief of the Apostles here reveals an eloquent and lofty train of thought of which we have

¹ Μη ἀναγκαστῶς, ἀλλὰ ἐκουσίως.

² Μηδὲ αἰσχροκερδῶς ἀλλὰ προθύμως.

³ 1 Peter v. 2-4.

⁴ In common with the Venerable Bede, Cajetan, and Estius, I am of the opinion that νεώτεροι ought not to be translated here by “young people.” This word, used in contradistinction to πρεσβύτεροι, refers to the disciples, believers, inferior to them in rank rather than in age; in other words, to the college of Elders who ruled them.

⁵ 1 Peter v. 6-11.

had no inkling, to judge him by his discourses as reported in the Acts: it was his love for Jesus, his ceaseless contemplation of Him during a quarter of a century, which had brought about this transformation. His character, however, still remains just what it was at the beginning: always vehement, and far more prone to action than to speculative thought. There are no long and subtle processes of reasoning to be noted in his letter, nor any of that outpouring of doctrine, or of those visions of Infinity which the Apostle of the Gentiles marshals before our gaze; here are but the raptures of a believing soul, streaming forth like flashes of sunshine from the clear sky.

Nor should we forget what changeableness, and what weaknesses had been intermingled by nature with the impetuosity which Peter always had shown. Of this his act, at once presumptuous and defiant, of walking upon the waters of Genesareth,¹ especially his denial of his Master,² furnish us with unequivocal testimony taken from the Gospel itself. Though reclaimed thereafter by one glance from the eyes of Jesus;³ confirmed in grace; invested with a Spirit from on High; none the less did the Apostle, knowing full well his inborn frailty, feel continual need of his Saviour's aid. This feeling of deep humility is very apparent in his letter, and makes it one of the most helpful sources of meditation to hearts torn by the trials of this life. Peter had all the more compassion for the miseries of mankind, since he had shared them all; he knows full well where the remedy is to be sought — 't is that same Jesus Who had confided unto him, together with the high charge of binding and loosing, that of leading and strengthening men's souls by Faith and love. "And thou, when thou shalt be converted, confirm thy brethren." ⁴

¹ Matt. xiv. 28-31.

² Ibid., xxvi. 69-75.

³ Luke xxii. 61.

⁴ Ibid., xxii. 32.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

THE persecution which was then raging throughout the Roman world did not spare the Church in Jerusalem, but there it sprang from other causes. The after effects of any arbitrary measures taken in Rome were not felt so keenly in Judea as in the other provinces. What mattered it to the Jewish tribunals what the magistrates of the Empire might think or decide, especially in questions of religion? On this point their fanaticism was so violent and so extremely susceptible that Rome had been obliged to give up the attempt to make them bow their necks beneath the common yoke. The trial of all cases touching their public worship had remained in their hands, the Procurator never appearing except to reverse the sentence when some too crying act of injustice had been brought before him on appeal.¹ Notably no sentence of capital punishment could be inflicted without his consent; for this reason they were forced to hand over the Saviour to Pilate.

To this higher jurisdiction of the Governors the Christians of Jerusalem owed their comparative immunity, and thus rarely were in peril of death or bloodshed. But though the right of passing the death sentence was denied to the judges of Israel, nevertheless full license was granted them to inflict lighter punishments; now, nothing so effectually protected the faithful against such acts of violence as did the esteem and sympathy which they had won from the populace and from the Pharisees. Let but this popular favor, during some period of broils or mutiny,

¹ Matt. xxvi. 65; John xix. 7; Acts iv. ; v.; vi. 13, 19; xxiii.

fail actively to protect them, forthwith they would find themselves at the mercy of their direst foes, the magistrates of Jerusalem, who for the most part were Sadducees.

It was just such a crisis, following the death of Festus, which gave birth to the persecution of which we are now to speak, and whose first victims, James, with many of his disciples, we have spoken of elsewhere. The arrival of Albinus a few months later, put a stop to these sanguinary executions; but the new Procurator, like his predecessors, confined himself to merely insisting upon his rights over life and death, and thus left them free to continue the usual course of harassments; thus many of the Christians of Rome were despoiled of their property and thrown into prison.¹ Thereafter there was nothing to hinder the members of the Sanhedrin from wreaking their vengeance on them; for, after the departure of Festus, there was no government worthy of the name left in Judea. That of Albinus, in particular, was but one long reign of venality, extortion, peculations, and ceaseless uprisings of the people. In the beginning, it is true, the brigands were hunted down, as under the foregoing administration;² but the hint once taken that it would be well to purchase impunity to continue their career of crime, even at the price of a goodly tribute, they soon found that they were free to ravage the country and levy contributions at their own good pleasure. The prisons furnished the Governor with another means of satisfying his rapacity by similar demands of ransom;³ soon only those among the condemned who were too poor to pay for their liberation were left within their walls.⁴ Such shameful dealings in no wise hindered Albinus in his schemes to crush the country under the weight of taxes; as the prey was to be his but for a few short years, he was bound to drain from it every drop he could.

Of those around him, two men alone were clever enough to make themselves his associates and fellow-plunder-

¹ Hebr. x. 32-34.

² Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, xx. ix. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xiv. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*

ers,—Ananias and Agrippa. The first-named, formerly High Priest, owed his influence over Albinus partly to his great wealth, partly to his stern and haughty character; he diverted to himself the quit-rents, dues which had hitherto gone to the support of the inferior Levites. Many of these unfortunates, robbed of their last penny, were reduced to the direst extremities.¹ As for Agrippa, the sole power which Rome had left him in Jerusalem, namely, full authority over the Temple, and the right to nominate the Pontiffs, alone afforded him fruitful opportunities for selling his favors; and these he took care not to neglect. An ambitious woman of the sacerdotal family of the Boëthos, Miriam by name, was desirous of obtaining for her husband, Josuë, son of Gamaliel, the dignity of the High Priesthood. Agrippa, won over by the gold which she poured into his treasury by the measureful,² to satisfy her, deposed Jesus, son of Damnaeus,³ the Pontiff created by him during the preceding year (63). A strange abuse of his functions this, on the part of a prince otherwise so pious, but in whose nature selfishness had always the upper hand. Of this trait he gave a striking proof by quitting Jerusalem when the disturbances were at their height and the city was toppling on the verge of ruin; it was then that he saw fit to transport to Cæsarea of Philippi, and to Beyrout the splendors of his court.

To make matters worse for the Holy City, he left behind him a band of his partisans, who, under the command of two of his relatives, Saul and Costebar, set to work pillaging the land in every direction.⁴ The priestly aristocracy took up arms to resist these acts of violence. The High Priest in charge had his own body-guard, Ananias had his; the wealthiest would naturally gather together the strongest force, and we know that both numbered many men, for work upon the Temple had just been finished, leaving some eighteen thousand laborers in search of livelihood.⁵ To cap the climax, Albinus,

¹ *Antiq. Jud.*, xx. ix. 2.

² *Ioma*, 18 a; *Iebamot*, 61 a.

³ Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, xx. ix. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

hearing a rumor that Rome was looking about for some one to replace him, threw open the prisons, put to death the vilest criminals, and after having made the others buy their liberty with what little they could raise, set them free to dwell in the city. Jerusalem, abandoned to the tender mercies of these several gangs, beheld within her walls naught but brawling deeds of vengeance and pillaging,¹ wherein the humbler classes, to which the Christians generally belonged, were, as always, the first to be attacked and cut to pieces.²

In these days of ill-omen there appeared a document destined to revive the courage of the faithful. There is no superscription on it to indicate its author: the most ancient manuscripts have only this simple title: "*To The Hebrews*," but there are numerous features in it which give us plainly to understand that the epistle is addressed to the converted Jews of Jerusalem; the writer reminds them that they were the first to receive the Gospel; wherefore by right and in order of time, they ought to be the masters³ of all the others. As yet, hardly illuminated by the Faith, they had been caught, as it were, in the whirlpool of persecution, "made a gazing-stock to the world by reason of the infamies and the afflictions they suffered,"⁴ "notwithstanding serving as models to mankind, for they have given unto their brethren in bondage their goods, taken joyfully the spoiling of their goods, knowing that elsewhere far other goods are reserved for them exceeding them in value, and which shall not perish for evermore."⁵

They have therefore valiantly faced the first fire of battle, thereby proving themselves worthy followers of leaders like Stephen and the two Jameses, who had died for the Faith.⁶ But now at last, it would seem, their courage is weakening; at present not one of their Pas-

¹ Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, xx. ix. 5.

² This state of things lasted for the whole year 64, for Florus did not replace Albinus till the beginning of 65.

³ Hebr. v. 12.

⁵ Ibid., x. 34.

⁴ Ibid., x. 32, 33.

⁶ Ibid., xiii. 7.

tors exercises over them an ascendancy like that of their forerunners, watchful though they be to fulfil their duties "with groaning"¹ for they behold about them none but "lax hands" and weak knees,² while many of the faithful are deserting the Christian gatherings³ with their too simple ritual, and are returning to the Mosaic worship, whose brilliant splendors are so seductive to the senses. All the older writers believed that these features, taken as a whole, were meant to designate the Church of Jerusalem, and that period of defection which ensued upon the death of the Pastor who had sustained their spirits until then, — James the "brother" of the Lord. Their agreement on this one point is so entirely perfect that we cannot question this opinion.⁴

Tradition has not furnished us with such a unanimous decision as to the authorship of the work. In it the entire Greek Church from the outset recognized the genius and the very soul of Paul; but the East remained for three centuries very unsettled and uncertain concerning it. Tertullian, and African writers generally, attributed it to Barnabas;⁵ in Rome,⁶ and in Gaul⁷ no one seems to have had knowledge of it. At least it was not ranked with the other letters of the Apostle. It is only in the

¹ Hebr. xiii. 17.

² Ibid., x. 25.

³ Ibid., xii. 12.

⁴ The theories most in favor nowadays contend that the Christians of Rome and of Alexandria were the recipients of this Epistle, but there is scarcely an Apostolical Church whose title to this honor some exegetical scholar has not supported: Corinth, Ephesus, Thessalonica, Cyprus, Antioch, Spain, Lycaonia, Galatia, Asia Minor, etc. A long and almost complete list of them is to be found in Meyer, *Kritisch Exegetisches Handbuch*, xiii. (3d ed.), pp. 35 *et seq.* The very diversity of these hypotheses would alone suffice to show that no one of them carries conviction with it.

⁵ Tertullian, *De pudicit.*, 20.

⁶ In the *Muratorian Fragment*, the first catalogue of the Roman Church we possess, no mention is made of it. Nor do two other most ancient writers of the Roman Church, St. Hippolytus and Caius the Priest, include this letter in their lists of St. Paul's Epistles. Photius, *Biblioth.*, Cod. 121, 232; Eusebius, *Histor. eccles.*, vi. 26.

⁷ St. Irenæus, who makes such frequent use of St. Paul's other letters, never quotes the Epistle to the Hebrews; Eusebius, nevertheless, assures us that he does make mention of it in a book now lost to us. Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, v. 26.

time of St. Hilary (354), that the clouds are dispersed and the whole Church proclaims what has been ever since her established teaching, that to St. Paul is due so large a share in the composition of this document that he needs must be regarded as its author.

To this simple statement I have reduced the question of the authenticity of the Epistle before us; for it is impossible not to recognize between it and the other letters of the Apostle very notable differences both in style and in methods of reasoning. With the exception of the few last verses, in which the author informs them of the release of Timothy, and sends his greetings to the brethren he is addressing, the work bears not so much as a trace of his epistolary manner; it is an exposition of Christian doctrine, pure and simple, or to put it better, a homily intended to enlighten men's souls under trial, and to "console" them.¹ The thoughts are indeed Paul's, but the manner of setting forth and developing his arguments are peculiar to the writer; its allegorical exegesis recalls the mysticism of the Alexandrians; in style especially it is unlike Paul's; far richer and more sustained than that of the Apostle, it has on the other hand neither the same enthusiasm, nor like his does it proceed so unhampered by any rules, and therefore often disproportioned, hurried forward, or interrupted by the influence of the moment.

These diversities have led the most judicious among our own interpreters of the Scripture to admit that, while the general conception, the order and the sequence of ideas in the work belong properly to the Apostle, in internal form it cannot be his.² Paul, knowing that the Christians of Jerusalem had a poor opinion of his teachings, thought that the most prudent way to make them accept the teachings of his Epistle would be not merely

¹ Hebr. xiii. 22.

² "Omnino dicendum arbitramur subjectum, sive materiam totius Epistolæ, simul et ordinem a Paulo fuisse subministratum, sed compositionem et ornatum esse cujusdam alterius, cujus opera Paulus utendum putaverit." Estius, *Prolegomena in Epistolam ad Hebræos*, questio ii. ; Bellarmin, A. Maier, Hug, Reithmayr, De Valroger, Cornely, Bacuez uphold the same opinion.

to omit all mention of his name, but to intrust to some one else the task of expressing his thoughts.¹ It is a pure matter of conjecture as to whom he may have chosen for this work of composition,—in all likelihood some one of the Apostolic men, whose manner² certain critics have from the beginning believed that they could recognize therein: either Clement, Luke, or Barnabas.² The style of the first two mentioned does, it is true, bear some resemblance to that of the Epistle to the Hebrews; but, on the other hand, there was nothing to recommend them to Paul as collaborators in a document destined for those children of Israel who were most Jewish in their tendencies. Both of them were Gentiles by birth and education, and both were scarcely known in Jerusalem, with which city they themselves were little acquainted. How, then, could they so mould the Apostle's thoughts as to win the confidence and good-will of the Christians in Judea?

¹ Clement of Alexandria, quoted by Eusebius.

² As early as the second century we find that the Alexandrian doctors were much struck by the difference in style presented by the Epistle to the Hebrews when compared with the other letters of St. Paul. Pantænus (about 170) and his disciple, Clement of Alexandria, concede that the Apostle composed the Epistle in Hebrew, and that St. Luke translated it into Greek. (Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, vol. vi. chaps. xiii., xiv.) Origen would concede a still smaller share in its composition to St. Paul. "The thoughts are his," he says; "the expressions and the arrangements of the words are those of some one else, who probably reproduced the Apostle's words from memory, and, so to speak, is explaining what his master said, after the manner of a Scholiast. Accordingly, if any Church would hold that this Epistle is Paul's, we should not quarrel with them; for it was not without good reason that the ancients handed it down to us as being Paul's work. As for any final decision concerning the personality of its author, we can only say, God alone knows who he was." (Origen, *Homil. in epist. ad Hebr.*, fragm.) These words of the Alexandrian doctors must be regarded as of great importance if we take into consideration the renowned school whose opinion in the premises they embody. For there from the very outset scholars had interested themselves in Sacred Literature, and more than anywhere else whatever pertained to these studies was eagerly examined and preserved; these are not, therefore, mere hypotheses or individual opinions which they transmit to us, but a faithful reflection of the ideas current in Apostolical times.

² "Epistola quæ fertur ad Hebræos non ejus creditur, propter styli sermonisque dissonantiam, sed vel Barnabæ juxta Tertullianum, vel Lucæ Evangelistæ juxta quosdam, vel Clementis Romanæ postea Ecclesiæ Episcopi." St. Jerome, *De vir. illustr.*, v.

Furthermore, neither in the two books written by Saint Luke nor in the Epistle of Saint Clement is there any trace of the Alexandrian influence so often betrayed in the letter to the Hebrews.

It is quite another matter when we come to Barnabas. As a Jew born of the tribe of Levi, he was known and loved by the Mother Church, where his mildness of speech had won for him the name of "Son of Consolation."¹ He was known also to be deeply attached to Paul, and nevertheless independent of him; for after their last mission-journey together, Barnabas had abandoned him in order to consecrate his missionary labors to the Christian communities of Cyprus and the Orient. As a Levite he would be the first to be chosen from among Paul's immediate companions when the latter desired to enlighten his brethren of Israel concerning the Sacrifice and the Priesthood of Jesus, and to prove to them that the Mosaic rites were meant but to prefigure and foretell Him. Thus, as we see, none could have been better fitted either to act as the Apostle's interpreter or to lend authority to his words.² That he should have done this by using a manner of speech, exposition, and exegesis which are so reminiscent of Philo and the Alexandrians, surely this has nothing surprising about it. Cyprus, the head centre of his Apostolate, kept up a busy commerce with the shores of Egypt, and Tradition has it that Mark, his cousin and disciple, was the founder of the Church of Alexandria.³

¹ Acts iv. 36 ; ix. 27 ; xi. 22-26 ; xv. 12, 22, 25.

² Though the weight of argument compels us to regard St. Barnabas as the "editor" of the Hebraic Epistle, it may yet be that antiquity was not altogether wrong in assigning some share in the work to St. Luke, or, even with more reason, to St. Clement. In fact it was necessary, in order to render the letter accessible to the majority of the Churches, that it should be translated into Greek. Now this is precisely the part which tradition attributed to these two Apostolic men, especially to St. Clement ; for St. Luke would seem to have been mentioned only on account of the intimate relations which marked him out to be Paul's Évangelist and the historian of his acts. Eusebius (*Histor. eccles.*, iii. xxxviii.), Euthalius of Alexandria (*In Hebr. Arg.*), Theodoret (*In Hebr. Arg.*), St. Jerome (*De vir. illustr.*, v.) hold that there is much better authority for the opinion which recognizes the handiwork of St. Clement in the Greek version now in our possession.

³ See *St. Peter*, chap. xx.

Paul remarks, toward the close of the Epistle, that he is writing while in the society of the "Christians of Italy."¹ The best opinion is that it is not Rome which is designated by this expression,² but some one of the seaport towns, such as Puteoli, where eastward-bound ships on their way were wont to touch. The sea routes were by far the most comfortable and safest for the Apostle when, on quitting Spain, he set out to visit for the last time his Christian followers in Greece and Asia. It was therefore at one of these landing-places along the Italian coast, as we may well fancy, that he was informed of the trials of the Mother Church, and was moved to address her with this "word of consolation."³ There is nothing in this letter to indicate that Paul despatched it during the period of his first imprisonment;⁴ hence it only remains to refer it to the time and place which I have given for its composition above. Furthermore, his meeting with Barnabas under such circumstances has nothing improbable about it, for a pious tradition still exists that the latter pursued his Apostolic labors in Italy, and the Church of Milan considers him as its founder.⁵ As Paul's fellow-worker in his earliest efforts, it was natural that he should rejoin him, to finish the work undertaken twenty years before, and thus together proclaim, not only to the Gentile world,

¹ Hebr. xiii. 24.

² The Apostle would have mentioned it under veiled terms, at least, as St. Peter did in his first Epistle. 1 Peter v. 13.

³ Hebr. xiii. 22.

⁴ Two passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews have been appealed to as proving that the Apostle must have written it at that date: x. 34 and xiii. 19; especially the first, which by translating the Apostle's words by "You have had compassion on my bonds," is made to refer to his captivity. The difficulty with this interpretation is that it rests solely upon the reading, *Vinculis meis compassi estis, τοῖς δεσμοῖς συνεπαθήσατε* which is with good reason rejected by the Vulgate, most of the Versions, and by all of the best modern editions. The real reading is *τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου συνεπαθήσατε*: "You have had compassion on those who were in bonds." As to the second passage, to construe those vague terms, "Pray . . . that I may be restored to you the sooner," as an indication that Paul is expecting a speedy release from his imprisonment, would seem to me at least a very hazardous conclusion.

⁵ See Braunsberger, *Der. Ap. Barnabas*, Mainz (1893), pp. 83 *et seq.* Cf. *Recognitiones*, i. 7, where St. Barnabas is represented as preaching in Rome and converting St. Clement.

but to Israel as well, the decisive victory of their Faith over Mosaism.

The Epistle to the Hebrews is an eloquent memorial of this superiority, drawn from the very heart of Christianity and exemplified in the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Jesus. Paul does not, however, confine himself to the setting forth of this pre-eminence of the Christ. Israel laid claim to three peculiar titles, of glorious import: its Patriarchs and its Prophets, who, by the ministry of Angels, were honored by the visitation and the messages of God; its Law, which the Eternal had placed in the hands of Moses; its Temples and its sacrifices, alone acceptable unto the Lord. The Apostle begins his Epistle by reminding them that the two first-named prerogatives find their completion in Jesus, and in Him alone.

How imperfect, indeed, do the revelations of the Old Testament seem to us — revealing as they do but fragments of the truth “at sundry times and in divers manners”¹ — when brought face to face with that full, midday light whereof the Christ is the Sun of Righteousness! In that one expression, “the Word,” God has summed up the whole matter, — His “Son, Who is the Heir of all things,” because, since all things have their being through Him, all must belong to Him.² This Son in the bosom of God is “the resplendency of His Glory, and the express image of His Substance; He upholds all things in the created world by the might of his word;”³ He purifies the World of Souls from their sins;⁴ by this threefold title of Redeemer, Creator, and Son, having the same Substance, the same Glory as God, He is set above all things, “seated at the right hand of the Majesty on High.”⁵

Now, God did more than merely speak to the Saints of the Old Testament; He manifested Himself to the Patriarchs and Prophets by the mediation of Angels. These pure Spirits were indeed clothed in human form, but so

¹ Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως.

² Hebr. i. 2: 'Εν υἱῷ δὲ ἐθήκεν κληρονόμον πάντων, δι' οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποίησεν.

³ Hebr. i. 3.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

utterly divested of their own personality that the movement and speech of God shone through them as the sun's rays through a crystal. Abraham, Jacob, and all the Seers of old had no difficulty in recognizing their Lord in these Apparitions. And yet what were these preludes to the Incarnation beside the reality, God personally uniting Himself to Humanity, and taking to Himself man's body and soul, in order to dwell and to converse with us? To which one of the Angels was it given to hear from the Father's lips the words which He addresses unto Him Who became flesh for us, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten Thee," — the changeless Day of all Eternity?¹ To none of the Angels as unto the Christ are attributed those two powers peculiar to the Godhead: Immutability, and the power to create all things.² Not to the Angels is it given to enjoy sovereignty over the world of the future, the Christian world, but only unto Jesus.³ Wherefore if the Hebrews were willing to obey the Law, as proclaimed to them by Angels, then all the more are they bound to submit themselves to the Christ.⁴

Why, then, should they falter because by reason of His sufferings and His death this Divine Christ may have appeared for a little as lower than the Heavenly Spirits?⁵ "We behold Him crowned with glory and honor because of the death which He has suffered," God in His goodness having willed that He should die for all.⁶ To this end it behooved Him that He should clothe Himself in a nature like unto ours, composed of "flesh and blood;"⁷ unto this end "become in all things like unto His brethren, He remaineth steadfast in His ministry before God, a merciful and faithful Pontiff, Who maketh expiation for the sins of the people. For it is from those very sufferings, whereby He hath been tried, that He obtaineth the Power to succor such as are themselves tempted."⁸

Jesus is not merely an Angel, a Divine Messenger Who

¹ Hebr. i. 5; Ps. ii. 7.

² Ibid., i. 7-14.

³ Ibid., ii. 5-9.

⁴ Ibid., ii. 1-4.

⁵ Ibid., ii. 7-9.

⁶ Ibid., ii. 9.

⁷ Ibid., ii. 14.

⁸ Ibid., ii. 17-18.

brings us the law of Grace ; He dwells forevermore among us, set between Heaven and Earth to be the Mediator of the New Covenant, as Moses was of the Old ; but vested with a very different perfection. Moses was but as a servant in the house of God. Jesus, as the Son, holds sway over his household.¹ Moses had not been able to keep the unbelieving Jews from wandering forty years in the wilderness ;² but we, once united unto the Christ, enter into the rest, “ the Great Sabbath of the people of God ; ”³ trusting in the new Josuë who leads us onward ; believing in His Word which is the very word of God, “ living and working, sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit. . . . ”⁴ Nor can that be said of our Mediator which is true of Moses, who was not permitted to conduct Israel into the Promised Land, nor himself to enter therein. Jesus has penetrated within the region of Everlasting Rest ; He has ascended unto the highest of the heavens, seated Himself upon “ a throne of grace,”⁵ and there remains clothed in the sublimest of His functions, at once Priest and Victim.

This Priesthood, this Sacrifice of Jesus, is the profoundest of His Mysteries ; it is His loftiest and crowning achievement. “ It is finished,”⁶ all things are consummated, as said the Saviour when dying on the Cross. Heretofore, to judge from the letters of his which we possess, Paul had never touched upon the transcendent aspect of our beliefs, but now he was under the necessity of explaining them to minds far less adapted to understand them, — to those Christians of Jerusalem, always loath to renounce the spirit of Mosaism. “ The spirit of slumber,”⁷ which overwhelmed the rest of Israel, in like fashion weighed heavily upon them ; “ bowed down to the Earth,”⁸ they seemed often “ to have eyes that they should

¹ Hebr. iii. 1-6.

⁴ Ibid., iv. 12.

² Ibid., iii. 7-11 ; 15-19.

⁵ Ibid., iv. 14-16.

³ Ibid., iv. 9.

⁶ John xix. 30.

⁷ Rom. xi. 8.

⁸ *Τον νῦτον αὐτῶν διαπαντός σύγκαμψον.* Rom. xi. 10.

not see, ears that they should not hear.”¹ The Apostle appears to hesitate even at the thought of trying to expound the Eternal Priesthood of Jesus before such hearers, and complains in vehement terms of their dulness of soul and of Faith.

“I shall have many things to say on this subject, but ’t will be hard to explain them because you are so dull of understanding, instead of being teachers as you ought to be, seeing what a long time you have been under instructions; indeed you yourselves are still in need of being taught the first rudiments of the Word of God.”²

Ought he, then, out of regard for the lowest element in the Mother Church, to deprive the more earnest minds among them of all lofty instructions? Paul thought not. Why should he preach to none but unworthy followers? The first to become Christians, and filled to overflowing with the gifts of Grace, it had been theirs to relish the riches of God’s favor more abundantly than any others; no others like them had been eye-witnesses of the miracles accompanying the Gospel’s reign on earth;³ so then, if they swerve and fall away now, it cannot be blamed to their ignorance or human weakness, but to pure maliciousness and nothing else. They know full well what they are doing by going back to Judaism; they are rendering any return to Christ impossible;⁴ for, with malice aforethought, they are taking sides with the enemies of Jesus, to crucify Him anew and flaunt their Deicide in the eyes of the whole world.⁵ For such apostates, in Paul’s opinion, there was no escape from the terrors of Judgment and the flame which dieth not.⁶

¹ Rom. xi. 8.

² Hebr. v. 11–12.

³ Ibid. vi. 4, 5.

⁴ An impossibility, not on God’s part, ready as He is to pardon us to the very last, but by reason of the obstacles, the deep pit they of their own malice have dug to separate themselves from the Divine Mercy. Their sin is like that of Lucifer’s rebelling and blaspheming in His very face. How find words persuasive enough to touch hearts so hardened and set in the hatred of their Saviour? What sacrifice powerful enough to open a way for grace to enter and soften them?

⁵ Hebr. vi. 6.

⁶ Ibid., xi. 26–31.

But even while launching these invectives against the stiff-necked, and the renegades in Israel, Paul never forgets to express his tender solicitude for those among his brethren who had not as yet fallen away quite so far, but were still struggling onward amid tears and groanings. These he endeavors to encourage by means of this letter, bidding them have confidence in themselves:—

“And while speaking thus, dear brethren, know that I cherish a better opinion of you and your Salvation. God is not unjust, nor does He forget your good works and the charity you have displayed in His name, by the services you have rendered and still render to the Saints. I desire earnestly that every one of you might show the same zeal, unto the end that your Hope may be fulfilled.”¹

This “Hope” of the Christian soul tossed about by the tempest of our earthly life “is the anchor which gives him steadiness and assurance,”² for it is cast by the true believer, not merely close to the sheltering shores of Eternity, but down into the depths of the world Divine, within the Sanctuary, and “beyond the veil, whither Jesus has entered as our forerunner, being become the Sovereign Sacrificer unto all times to come.”³

Here Paul reverts to the original thought which animates his Epistle, the Priesthood of the Christ according to the order of Melchisedec. There is nothing more august and mysterious in the Old Testament than the description of this personage. Suddenly and without warning, he steps forth into the history of the Father of all true Believers, not affiliated in any way with the chosen people, “without father or mother, having neither genealogy nor beginning nor end of days.”⁴ Clothed with a mystical empire, “King of Righteousness, King of Salem, that is to say, King of Peace,”⁵ he approaches Abraham as one mightier than that “Conqueror of Kings,” since he blesses the Patriarch and receives from him a tithe of all his

¹ Hebr. vi. 9–11.

² Ibid., vi. 19.

³ Ibid., vi. 19–20.

⁴ Ibid., vii. 3.

⁵ Ibid., vii. 2.

spoils.¹ Coming forth from out the mists of Eternity, thither he returns, to remain as he had appeared upon earth, "likened unto the Son of God, a Priest unto all ages."² Now, as the very counterpart of Melchisedec, a Sacrificer stands forth in the New Covenant, born not of Levi but of Judah, a tribe to which Moses had never intrusted priestly powers;³ endowed with this ministry, "not by virtue of a carnal succession, but by the might of His own Immortal Life."⁴ He stands forth of Himself and forevermore sufficient unto this ministry:—

"For though there have been many Priests hitherto, because death hindered their continuance, this one, because He remaineth forever, hath an Eternal Priesthood. Wherefore, also, He is able to save them forevermore who approach unto God by Him, seeing that He ever liveth to make intercession for us. For such a Sovereign Sacrificer was fitting for us, Who is holy, innocent, spotless, separate from sinners, and higher than the Heavens; Who needeth not daily, like other High Priests, to offer up Sacrifice, first for their own sins, and then for the peoples'; this he hath done once for all by offering up Himself."⁵

Jesus does indeed continue to be both Victim and Priest of His own Sacrifice. This is one of the profoundest Mysteries of our Faith, and yet one which the Hebrews were better fitted to understand than any other nation, for everything in their worship tended to prepare them for it. For above the splendors of the Mosaic ritual, and over their Temple, one of the marvels of the world, over and above the Tabernacle, veiled by the wings of the Cherubim,⁶ over and above all these hovered a dark cloud of blood. Always they must needs have recourse to blood if they would cleanse and purify

¹ Hebr., vii. 1, 2. Abraham, Chieftain and Father of the whole chosen race, by paying tithes to Melchisedec and receiving his blessing, recognizes thereby that he and all his nation, in which the tribe of Levi is included, were inferior to this mysterious priest.

² Hebr., vii. 3.

³ Ibid., vii. 14.

⁴ Ibid., vii. 16.

⁵ Ibid., vii. 23-27.

⁶ Ibid., ix. 1-5.

their sin-stained souls; for "there is no remission without shedding of blood."¹ In blood Moses had inaugurated the Law,² and it was with blood-stained hands that the High Priest entered once a year within the Holy of Holies.³ What were all these immolations of rams and bulls intended to figure forth? Jesus, the Supreme Sacrificer, shedding for us His own Blood, "offering Himself to God as a Spotless Victim,"⁴ and thereby obtaining for us an Eternal Redemption."⁵ This Divine Oblation was the first act of the Incarnate Son of God.

"Coming into the World He hath said, 'Thou hast desired neither sacrifice nor offering, but a naked body hast thou prepared Me; neither holocausts nor sacrifices for sin were pleasing unto Thee; then said I, "Behold I come, as it is written of Me in the book, to do Thy Will, O God!"' . . . and in that will of God we are sanctified, by the Oblation of the Body of Jesus Christ, once for all. Every other sanctifier standeth daily sacrificing and offering oftentimes the same host which can never take away sins; but He, after He had offered one Sacrifice for sins, hath seated Himself for ever and ever on the right hand of God, henceforth expecting, till His enemies be made His footstool. For by this one Offering He hath perfected forever the purification of those whom He hath sanctified."⁶

What did the Christians of Jerusalem still lack to help them descry and appreciate from out the mists of ancient worship the true Sacrifice, the Eternal Priesthood? Belief in Christ Who went forth from out her pale that He might concentrate and incarnate in Himself all religions, as well as all righteousness and all truth; but they must

¹ Hebr. ix. 22.

² "The first Covenant was not inaugurated without shedding of blood; for when Moses had proclaimed before all the people every ordinance of the Law, he took the blood of the calves and goats, with water and scarlet wool, and hyssop, and sprinkled the book itself and all the people, saying, "This is the blood of the Covenant, which God hath made for your sake." And in like manner he sprinkled the Tabernacle with blood also and all the vessels of worship." Hebr. ix. 18-21.

³ Hebr. ix. 7-8.

⁵ Ibid., ix. 12.

⁴ Ibid., ix. 14.

⁶ Ibid. x. 5-7, 10-14.

needs believe with that "full faith" which presupposes the existence of a "sincere heart, cleansed from all stains of an evil conscience."¹ Paul knew well that the souls of this metal were far from being numerous in Israel; even among those who "had had knowledge of the truth."² How many backsliders there were with eyes fixed not on the future, but on the past! Renegades too, "trampling under foot the Son of God; counting the blood of the Covenant, which had sanctified them, as it were something vile and profane; doing despite unto the Spirit of Grace!"³ The Apostle pronounces sentence on these apostates in one short line, but one of direful import: "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God."⁴

And, nevertheless, far removed from this throng of unbelievers, Paul's gaze could single out a chosen few, drawn likewise from the ranks of Judaism, but united unto the Christ henceforth and forever. How could he strengthen them in this union more effectually than by proving to them that all holiness and all greatness, from the very beginning of time, proceeds from faith in the Christ? It was this virtue which, long since, had inspired the Saints of the olden Law to plant deep down in our hearts a "steadfast expectation"⁵ of that for which we hope; the full conviction of that which we as yet see not."⁶ 'T was for this faith that they "tarried here below as in a strange land, dwelling in tents; . . . they were awaiting that city of everlasting foundations, whereof God Himself is the Creator and the Architect; . . . these all died in Faith, not having received the things which were promised unto them, but having seen them afar off and embraced them, confessing that they were but strangers and pilgrims upon Earth." Thus have lived all those great and holy ones still treasured in the memory of Israel,—

¹ Hebr. x. 22.

³ Ibid., x. 29.

² Ibid., x. 26.

⁴ Ibid., x. 31.

⁵ Beelen, Maier, Bisping, and the majority of modern critics are right in giving to *ὑπόστανσις* the meaning of "firm expectation," for this signification here required by the context is the same which the Greek word has in other passages of Scripture. Hebr. iii. 14; Ezek. xix. 5.

⁶ Hebr. xi. i.

Abel, Henoch, Noë, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, even Rahab the harlot.¹

"What shall I more say?" proceeds the Apostle. "Time would fail me to tell of Gideon, and of Barak, of Samson, of Jephtha, of David, of Samuel, and of the Prophets, who through Faith subdued kingdoms, held righteous sway, obtained the fulfilment of the promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, came forth strong out of sickness, waxed valiant in battle, turned to flight the armies of aliens, restored to women their children raised to life again. Some were broken on the wheel, not deigning to barter for their lives, and thus obtaining a better one in the Resurrection; others have suffered mockings and the lash, chains also, and imprisonments; they were stoned, sawn asunder, tortured; they were slain with the sword; they wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented, — they of whom the world was not worthy, — roaming through the deserts and on mountain-sides, dwelling in dens and caves of the earth. All these holy ones, whose faith the Scripture celebrates, did not behold the realization of the promises, God having willed it as a particular favor unto us that without us they should not attain unto the accomplishment of their joy. Compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking onward to Jesus, the Author and the Finisher of the Faith."²

Paul felt himself more justified in urging upon them the necessity of courage, because as a rule the Christians of Jerusalem had not been forced as others had been to struggle and "to resist unto blood."³ What were their present trials compared with the sufferings of their brethren? At most but a fatherly chastisement, a kindly discipline, whose only fruits were righteousness and peace.⁴ And, on the other hand, how many higher motives were theirs not to yield one whit in generosity to the Saints and Martyrs of the olden Covenant? These had never

¹ Joshua ii. 1-21; vi. 17.

² Hebr. xi. 32-40; xii. 1, 2.

³ Ibid., xii. 4.

⁴ Ibid., xii. 5-11.

beheld God and His Law, save on a burning mountain shrouded in darkness, in the roar of the storm, and in the lightning's flash ; so terrible then was the voice of the Lord that they had entreated Him to speak to them¹ no longer. Instead of this awe-inspiring pomp, the New Faith comes to them in the unclouded light of day, plainly distinguishable, offering unto them every good thing which Israel long had languished for, — the true "Mt. Sion, the City of the living God, the Heavenly Jerusalem ; in whose bosom are the Angels in myriad throngs ; the congregation of the first born, written in the Heavens ; God, Judge of all mankind ; the souls of the righteous made perfect in glory ; Jesus the Mediator of the New Covenant ; His Blood shed for us speaking more eloquently than did that of Abel."²

Henceforth this immolation of the Saviour, symbolized by His Cross, will remain forever the most abiding Glory of Jerusalem, the very central point of it, and focussing in itself all that is left to them of life and salvation. Thitherward Paul never tires of directing the gaze of the faithful of the Holy City, showing them that every one of the virtues which he urges upon them is in some sense an act of worship ;³ the "sacrifice of praise"⁴ in prayer ; the sacrifice of charity in almsgiving, hospitality, and brotherly love ;⁵ and in the whole sum of the Christian life, a communion through Grace, with the Oblation of the Saviour, — the one veritable Holocaust "whereof God is the consuming fire."⁶ One, too, which differs so widely from those of Mosaism, in that it will never be extinguished ; for the soul of this Sacrifice, "Jesus Christ, is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever."⁷ Paul's last thought is of this Eternal Pontiff.

"Now may God," he says in his closing greetings to the Hebrews, "the God of peace, Who raised up from the dead Our Lord Jesus, the Great Shepherd of the sheep, through

¹ Hebr. xii. 18-21.

² Ibid., xii. 22-24.

³ Ibid., xii. 28.

⁴ Ibid., xiii. 15.

⁵ Ibid., xiii. 16.

⁶ Ibid., xii. 29.

⁷ Ibid., xiii. 8.

the Blood, which maketh this Covenant everlasting; [may this God] incline you to do every good work, He Himself working in you that which is pleasing unto Him, through Jesus Christ, unto Whom be glory forever and ever. Amen."¹

We are inclined to believe that the Epistle when it left the hands of Barnabas ended with this benediction. What followed would seem to have been dictated by Paul himself, when the letter which was to set forth his ideas was submitted to him for his approval, and had received from him the stamp of authenticity.

"I beseech of you, brethren, to bear with these words of consolation; I have written to you in a few words."² Know that our brother Timothy has been set at liberty; with him, if he come speedily, I will see you. Salute all them that are your leaders, and all the Saints. Those of Italy salute you. May Grace be with you all. Amen."³

¹ Hebr. xiii. 20, 21.

² The first words in this additional passage which certain interpreters find very difficult to explain become clear and significant when understood in the light of our hypothesis. The Aorists *ἔγραψα, ἐπεμψα, ἐπέστειλα* often correspond to our "present" in his letters. The same is true of the Latin, *scripsi, misi*. See Winer, *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Sprach-idioms*, sect. 40, 5, b. 2.

³ Hebr. xiii. 22-25.

CHAPTER IX.

THE REBELLION OF JUDEA.

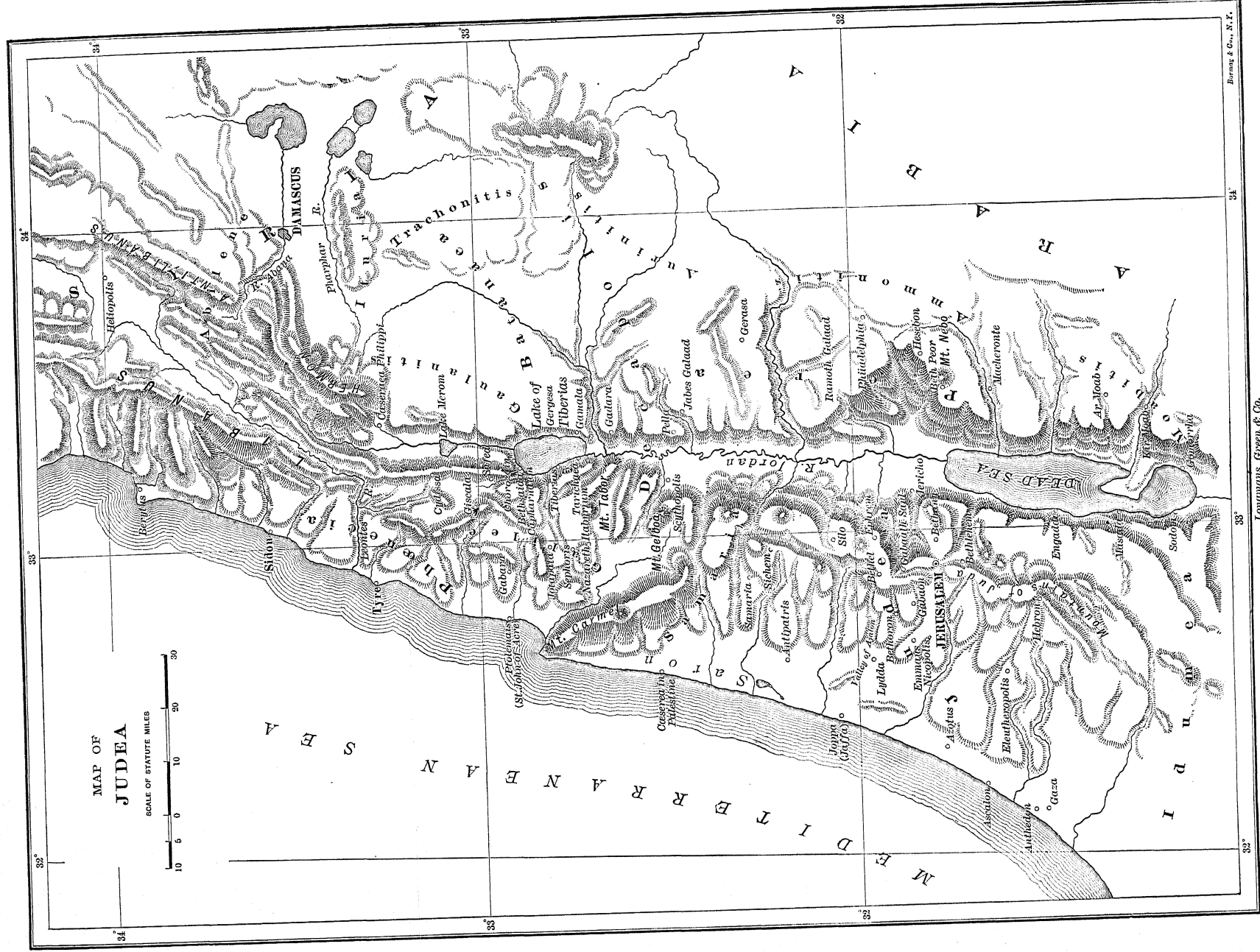
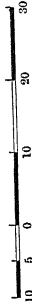
I. THE FIRST UPRISINGS IN JERUSALEM.

THE persecutions which Paul had been arming the faith of the Mother Church against lost much of their violence in the period which followed the despatch of his Epistle to the Hebrews. As always, their instigators had been certain leaders of the aristocracy, but now, the latter tormented in their turn by the lower elements of the populace, whose wrath had been excited by their cringing attitude toward Rome, speedily found themselves involved in a life and death struggle against a rebellion which for some time past had been smouldering in Jerusalem and now burst into flames. It was under the governorship of Gessius Florus that the Holy City assumed this threatening aspect.

The new governor found Judea very different from what it had been a hundred and thirty years previously, when Pompey brought it under the yoke; for Rome, generally so skilful in absorbing conquered population into the body politic, had here made complete failure. One of the most efficacious means toward attaining this end was military service. Thereby the provincials, when once enrolled in the auxiliary cohorts, their discipline modelled upon that of the legionaries surrounding them, became little by little comrades in arms and compatriots of the latter. Nothing of the sort was to be hoped for from the Jews, whose Law, and especially that of the Sabbatical Rest, could not be made to harmonize with military discipline. Similar considerations made them absent themselves from the courts of com-

MAP OF JUDEA

SCALE OF STATUTE MILES



mon law. Israel had its own code dictated by God, its own national judges, in the persons of the president of each Synagogue; to them they had recourse, and persisted so stubbornly in this line of conduct that Rome was forced, if only for the sake of keeping peace, to tolerate and sometimes even to authorize their independent jurisdiction.¹

But the deepest gulf between them was that of their belief. Some sort of harmony of attributes and powers was easily brought about between the gods of the Capitol and those of the rest of the Pagan world; indeed, they succeeded in making them scarcely distinguishable one from another; furthermore, a new worship, that of Cæsar, was made obligatory for all, and thus gathered together about the same altar representatives from every quarter of the empire.² The God of Israel alone brooked neither rivalry nor partnership. Alone He reigned within His Holy Temple, encompassing with His Infinity, not only the Holy City, but the Synagogues scattered throughout the whole known world; for in them every adoring Israelite set his face Sionwards. Nowhere else might one offer sacrifice; but each one of them longingly looked forward to the day when he might accomplish the rites of his worship, as a pilgrim offering his sacrifice upon the solitary Altar acceptable unto the Lord.

The majesty of the Roman name was dimmed and overshadowed by the greatness of this Sanctuary. In order to revive its prestige the Procurators withdrew to Cæsarea, trusting that from this city, half-Greek, half-Jewish, they might wield their authority more imposingly. The effect of this measure, though in certain respects politic, was to isolate Jerusalem from all external influences and to leave her just what she had become during the past centuries of withdrawal from, and horror of, the heathen world. The large majority of the population, made up of

¹ Here I have not intended to do more than to summarize certain points treated of at length in the Third Chapter of *St. Peter*: "The Jews of the Dispersion."

² *St. Paul*, chap. i.

men of business, merchants, and small tradesmen, endeavored to form a decent and peaceable party from among them, much attached to their Faith, and consequently dreading any revolt likely to bring the Temple and the City in peril. This inborn preference for tranquillity rendered the Jews, as a rule, docile subjects, but without inspiring in them any feeling of esteem toward those who governed them ; for the latter, whether princes of the Priesthood or former officials and courtiers of Herod, were all notable for the same lack of faith and morality. Though hated for their impiety, their ostentation, and insulting arrogance, they were none the less masters of the Sanhedrin, and still shared among themselves the highest positions in the Pontificate and the Government. Under such leaders, bent solely on increasing their own fortunes, we may easily imagine that the average Jew was minded to keep the peace at any price.

This very servility, however, became a constant source of trouble for Jerusalem. Besides the middle class, which for motives of self-interest, pretended not to see all this, there was always an uneasy and turbulent element among the lower populace. With no other heritage save the greatness of their race, they lent a willing ear to any one who spoke of restoring it, and of making them sharers in its riches and honors. Amid this throng, aggravated on the one hand by their own destitution, and on the other by deeds of violence on the part of the aristocracy, revolutionary preachers were to be heard daily. Some of these fanatics were in good faith, thinking that by fostering rebellion they were doing the work of God, and hastening the coming of His Kingdom ; others were less disinterested, watching their opportunity for private profit out of every public disorder ; crews of adventurers and brigands, always drawing new recruits, forced into their ranks by the wretchedness of the surrounding country, ravaged the land in bands of such redoubtable strength that the Roman magistrates had been forced more than once to come to some compromise with them. Un-

der their true colors they could not have done more than breed terror and destruction, but in company with sincere Zealots, and wearing the cloak of the latter's piety, they were well fitted to incite Jerusalem to revolt. "Liberty is the highest right of all," they proclaimed; "we must wrest it, if needful by force, from those who prefer slavery."¹ Secretly, and sometimes by public attacks, they supported their theories, making their campaign a continuous source of terror.²

Other terrors followed in rapid succession, all conspiring to agitate the minds of the people. The one theme of general conversation just then was the appearance of direful portents in the heavens. "Signs of our approaching liberty!"³ cried the Zealots. The excitement caused by these prodigies was so great that rumors of them reached Rome itself. Tacitus, as well as Josephus,⁴ records them. For a whole year a sword-shaped comet had remained suspended over the city; but it was in the year 65 that such phenomena were most in evidence. At the Pass-over festival, about three hours after midnight, a great light suddenly enveloped Mt. Moriah; so dazzling was it that the people assembled together for the Feast of Unleavened Bread beheld the Temple and the Altar as plainly as in the glare of noonday.

Another prodigy occurred to disturb the same solemnities. The brazen gates of the Temple, so huge and heavy that it required twenty men to work them, opened of themselves, and were closed again only after prodigious labors. A few days later, just before dawn, the sky appeared to be filled with visions and mutterings of war; beholders descried rushing chariots, the shock of contending armies, and cities encircled with trenches. Still more sinister were the presages on the Day of Pentecost; for the Priests, when entering at night into the Temple to perform their functions, were alarmed by the noise of a great tumult, the sound of myriad footsteps, as it were

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xiii. 6. ² *Ibid.*, ii. xiii. 3, 4. ³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Tacitus, *Historiæ*, v. 13; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vi. v. 3.

of a multitude in flight, shrieking with one voice, "Let us flee from here! Let us flee from here!"

But why was not Florus on hand to check and pacify his province during these days of wild excitement? Simply because he was the worst governor as yet sent to them by Rome. Once raised to this post of honor through the influence of his wife, Poppæa's friend, he seems never to have had any other end in view save to rival and outdo his fellow-magistrates of the Orient in the speedy accumulation of a fortune.¹ His prestige at the Imperial court insured him perfect impunity, and he availed himself of it so efficiently as to make even the scoundrelly Albinus regretted. The latter had shown some discretion in his exactions. Florus proceeded unchecked and unashamed. He pillaged cities and citizens with both hands, and withal so fiercely as to depopulate the regions roundabout; not only villages, but towns as well, were almost deserted. Cestius Gallus was then Administrator of Syria, the province whereof Judea, with its Procurators, was a dependency. He visited Jerusalem during the Passover, and found Jews assembled there for this Solemnity to the number of three millions, or so Josephus tells us.² At once there arose an outcry against Florus, whom they accused before him of being the bane of their country. Meanwhile, the latter standing at the right hand of the Imperial Legate, simply smiled at their angry tirades, well aware how futile they were. For Cestius proved true to his bond, and on his departure the lot of wretched Judea waxed only the more pitiable.³

Thereupon, whether out of revenge or through mere cupidity, Florus threw off all self-restraint. He gave orders for the levying of seventeen talents (about \$18,360.00 in our money) upon the treasury of the Temple, hitherto held inviolate; for therein was accumulated the tribute paid by the Jews all over the world.⁴ Jerusalem shuddered at this sacrilege, which thousands of voices clam-

¹ Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, xx. xi. 1; *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xiv. 3.

² Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xiv. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. xiv. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. xiv. 6.

orously denounced; some of the most infuriated citizens traversed the streets with a beggar's cup in their hands, asking alms "for the poor representative of Cæsar!" Ever on the watch Florus here scented his opportunity; he made his entry into Jerusalem in full force and bade the authorities deliver up to him these insulting wretches. The Sanhedrin did its utmost to obtain indulgence for words and deeds which they claimed were the outcome of mere thoughtlessness, furthermore urging the impossibility of discovering the real culprits. To this Florus's only reply was to bid his soldiers charge upon the people, adding full permission to rob and slay all who stopped their path. Men, women, and children, to the number of 3,600 perished under the sword or were trampled to death by the fleeing throng. Certain Jews, who availed themselves of their rights of Roman citizenship, were haled before the Pretorium; Florus had them whipped and crucified.¹ Vainly did Agrippa's wife, Berenice, send message after message to the Procurator, conjuring him to stay the massacre; she even appeared in person, in suppliant guise and barefooted, before his tribunal; but it only resulted in her beholding her unfortunate fellow-countrymen beaten with rods and butchered before her own eyes; she herself was so threatened that she was fain to escape with all speed from the fury of the soldiers.²

On the morrow, Jerusalem, contrary to all expectations, remained wrapped in peace and quiet. The people were endeavoring to restrain their rage, yielding to the urgent prayers of their leaders; but this state of mournful resignation was not at all to the taste of Florus; since, according to Josephus, at least, he was trying to force them into rebellion. Of course the principal object he had in view was the Treasury. In order to keep the people away from that locality he gave orders that they were to go without the walls to meet the two cohorts which were about to enter the city, and to greet them on their approach. The populace at once fathomed his ruse, and became more

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xiv. 8, 9.

² *Ibid.* ii. xv. 3.

threatening than before. To pacify them, the Priests and Levites were forced to appear in their midst, their heads sprinkled with ashes, their garments tattered, bearing before them the sacred vessels; these they held up aloft before the populace, crying out that they were in danger of falling into sacrilegious hands if any resistance was offered. Once more the Jews saw fit to acquiesce, and went out to welcome with the usual acclamations the Syrian Guards and that idolater Rome had just put over them.¹ The latter responded to their shouts with words of the most outrageous contempt. This was too much to be borne by a multitude whose patience and self-restraint were now utterly exhausted; there was an outburst of mutterings and imprecations against Florus. It would seem that the cohorts were only waiting for this pretext; they fell upon the Jews, beating them with their staves, stamping out the lives of those who fell beneath the feet of their horses, and driving them back in bloody tumult within the gates.

These fresh troops then rapidly crossed the suburb of Bezetha and pushed their way toward the Antonia and the Temple. Florus, on his side, marshalling all the legionaries in his command, hastened to the same spot. This concerted movement leaves no doubt that the Treasury was his objective point. The Jews hurried madly to its defence; perched upon the housetops they showered down stones on the soldiers, while others set to work pulling down the viaduct which was used by the Lords of Antonia to make their entrance into the Sanctuary. Florus realizing that the opportunity had slipped through his fingers, called a halt, and a little later, leaving only one cohort in the city, took his departure for Cæsarea.

He left Jerusalem still bleeding and incensed, readier than ever before to lend a willing ear to the promptings of the Zealots; for the authority of the aristocracy had waned with that of Rome. What was the use of preaching prudence to a mob which had just measured its

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xv. 1.

strength with that of its tyrannical rulers? Does not the departure of Florus, utterly impolitic as it was, and so well fitted to encourage revolt, prove that the Procurator, fearful of being denounced, was actually anxious to foment the rebellion? To save himself, no more efficacious means suggested itself than the outbreak of an organized insurrection, thereby enabling him to stifle the complaints which his own acts of rapacity and sanguinary rage justified.¹

One last resort was still left to the moderate party, in the person of Agrippa, who, acting in concert with them, had hitherto done all in his power to prevent a rupture with Rome. This prince, now on his return from Egypt with his wife Berenice, was making a short stay in the Holy City. Both of them earnestly endeavored to extinguish the sparks which threatened a general conflagration. Agrippa assembled the people in the great square of Jerusalem called the Xystus; he represented to them the folly of entering upon a struggle with that one power which had the whole world at its feet. The leaders of the priesthood, quite as anxious as he to preserve the peace, seconded him with what vestige of authority was still left them. Finally Berenice contributed all the influence of her beauty and supplications. Appearing before them upon one of the terraces of the palace which overlooked the Xystus, she besought them with tears and sobs, — a sight most touching to their hearts; for the people all loved this princess, whom they regarded with the same affection they had once lavished on the lovely Mariamne, the Asmonæan. At first it seemed that they would come to some general agreement, so far as keeping the peace with Rome was concerned; but Agrippa was so imprudent as to push this first advantage to the extreme by insisting that until the arrival of a new procurator they should yield obedience to Florus. This was too much. At that detested name, angry reproaches, insults, and a shower of stones greeted the speaker. Dis-

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xv, 2, 6.

couraged by this rude reception, the prince forthwith abandoned the city and withdrew into Batanæa.¹

Thereafter the fanatics found the field free for their campaign, and they at once took advantage of it to commit a definite act of rebellion. Two days' journey from Jerusalem, on the shores of the Dead Sea, stood the impregnable fortress Masada. The fiercest of the Zealots hastened thither, stormed and seized it by surprise, butchered the Roman garrison, and left a detachment of their followers in possession.² This, however, was but an isolated act of violence, which in no way compromised the entire nation, since Jerusalem remained still in the hands of the moderate party. Reinforced by the Roman cohort which guarded the Antonia, the sacerdotal aristocracy still held the upper hand over the people; their leader, especially the former High Priest, Ananias,³ was quite capable, if not of subjugating the seditious element, at least of holding it in check. Unfortunately, those who had seemed to be in a position to inspire him with courage were the very ones who made him waver. Foremost among them was his own son, Eleazar, Captain of the Temple. This high office insured the latter complete sway over the rank and file of the Levites. Now it is well known how grievously these inferior ministers suffered from the exactions of their superiors, as well as from their overbearing pride. Any demagogue who promised to restore to them their former dignities and rights

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xvi. and xvii. 1.

² *Ibid.*, ii. xvii. 2. Masada (the modern Sebbeh), situated on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, just below Engaddi. In the time of the Maccabees a fortress was erected upon this cliff by the High Priest Jonathan. Herod the Great increased its strategetical importance. (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vii. viii. 3.) Traces of the besiegers' works, when the Romans in 73 tried to reduce the Zealots, are still visible. Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, iii. pp. 241 *et seq.*; De Saulcy, *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte* (1853), vol. i. pp. 199 *et seq.*; Atlas plate, xi-xiii.; *The Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs* by Conder and Kitchener, iii. pp. 418-421; Tuch, *Masada, die Herodianische Felsenfeste nach Fl. Josephus und neueren Beobachtungen*, Leipzig, 1863.

³ The High Priest then in office was Matthias, son of Theophilus. All that we know of him is that, so far as we can discover, he was the last Pontiff regularly appointed.

was sure of gaining a hearing. In this instance the first plank in the platform of restoration was cleverly devised; namely, to abolish the Sacrifice which they offered daily for the Emperor. For now many years it had become the established custom to receive such gifts as the foreign princes were pleased to make to the Temple, and to accept their offerings of victims for the Altar.¹ Eleazar persuaded the Levites to proscribe this usage and to decree that in the future no offerings should be made upon the Altar of Jehovah save such as were donated by the Jews and for the Jews.

This act of intolerance constituted a mortal insult to Rome, and one all the more keenly felt, since this Mistress of the World everywhere attached the greatest importance to such participation in the worship of the subject nations. Pontiffs, members of the Sanhedrin, the Pharisee, — all men in fact who were still able to think calmly, — at once realized what such an act of madness would entail, and set themselves to work to oppose it. On various occasions the chief men of the Priesthood harangued the people, representing to them that to reject the Emperor's offerings was to declare him, and with him the whole Roman world, unworthy of taking part in prayer with Israel, and that thereby they would lay themselves open to direful acts of reprisal. Their most famous Doctors employed all the learning at their command to prove by the authority of Scripture that from time immemorial the sacrifices of foreigners had been received in the Temple; and that this practice, far from being sacrilegious, constituted the most striking act of homage to the only true God. All this, however, failed to move the Levites one whit. Fascinated by the eloquence of Eleazar, they obstinately persisted in their refusal to offer sacrifice for the Emperor.²

¹ Jer. xxix. 7; Baruch i. 10, 11; 1 Esdr. vi. 10; 2 Macc. iii. 2; v. 16; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. x. 4, iv. iii. 10, v. xiii. 6; *Antiq. Jud.*, xiii. iii. 4; *Contr. Apion.*, ii. 5, 6; *Philo, Legat. ad Caium*, sects. xxiii., xxxvii., xl., xlv.; *Aboth.*, iii. 2.

² Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xvii. 3, 4.

Members of the moderate party now realized that Jerusalem was slipping from their grasp; powerless to stay the tide of insurrection which threatened to engulf them, they appealed for aid to Florus and once more to Agrippa. The Procurator, however, was only too eager to add fuel to the flame; and with unconcealed delight at these tidings, or so Josephus assures us, he dismissed the messengers without granting them any satisfaction.¹ Agrippa, on the contrary, hastened to send three thousand of his cavaliers, by whose aid the better class of citizens could hold their own and retain the upper quarter of Jerusalem in their possession,² while leaving the lower town and the Temple in the hands of the rebels. After a few days of tentative sallies and skirmishes, a veritable battle was fought. On the 14th of August the insurgents attacked the upper city, carried it by storm, set fire to the residence of Ananias, to the lower part of Agrippa's palace, and what was to them the most important of all, to the Chamber of Archives, which contained all the mortgages and claims due the State. The practical effect of this was to liberate at one stroke the throng of debtors then so numerous in Jerusalem, and to win them over to their side. Their victory was complete; the prince's cavalry, the Roman soldiery, and the pontiffs, together with the principal personages of the city, had barely time to take refuge in the upper part of Agrippa's palace. On the morrow their conquerors stormed the Tower of Antonia; this they carried after two days' fighting, set fire to it, and put the garrison to the sword. Thence they returned to what was still left of the Palace of the Asmonæans, this time, however, to be met by a most desperate resistance; indeed, they had almost resigned themselves to the prospect of carrying it by siege, when an unexpected reinforcement hastened their triumph.³

Manahem, son of the famous Judas the Galilean, who sixty years earlier had been the first to attempt to arouse

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xvii. 4.

² The districts occupied nowadays by the Armenians and Jews.

³ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xvii. 5, 7.

Judea against Rome,¹ — Manahem had inherited the same fanatic spirit which had brought his father and elder brother to the executioner's block. Seeing Jerusalem in its present state of insurrection, he too believed that his hour had come, and appeared suddenly within the fortress of Masada, but lately fallen into the hands of the Zealots. Putting himself at their head, he made his entrance as a king into Jerusalem, assumed the command over the troops, and pushed the assault upon the Upper Palace so vigorously that the besieged were forced to capitulate. Agrippa's cavalry were allowed to retire from the city ; as for the Romans, however, now too reduced in numbers to fight their own way out of the town, some were massacred on the spot, others took refuge in the three towers named after Hippicus, Phasael, and Mariamne, and made these their last stand. On the following morning Ananias was discovered hiding in an aqueduct leading to the Palace, and was hacked to pieces by their swords.² This arrogant Pontiff, who for so many a day, had held both Priests and Levites in his implacable grasp, could hope for neither pity nor protection. This, Paul, when buffeted in the face by his orders, had foretold him : he in his turn should be struck, but by the Hand of God.³

This violent end of a hated life, well merited though it was, seemed none the less shocking to the populace, and Eleazar was quick to take advantage of the general feeling to demand vengeance for his father. Roused to fury by his tirades, the mob seized upon Manahem, slew him with all imaginable cruelty, and constrained his Zealots to make the best of their way back to Masada. All that was left now of their enemies was a little band of Romans shut up in the towers of the palace. Wearied of warfare, these finally surrendered, under a promise of safe conduct, it is true, but scarcely had they laid down their arms when the perjurer Eleazar gave the signal to his

¹ Acts v. 37. Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, xviii. i. 1. Consult *The Christ the Son of God*, book ii. chap. i., and *St. Peter*, chap. ii.

² Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xvii. 8, 9.

³ Acts xxiii. 3.

men to slaughter them. Metilius, commander of the cohort, was the only one spared, and that only at the cost of an active cowardice on his part, — by allowing himself to be circumcised.¹

Jerusalem was lost to the Romans, and with it almost the whole of Judea, for all the garrisons roundabout, including those of Jericho and the Dead Sea, made haste to capitulate.² The insurrectionists were thus left masters of the country, free to organize the most formidable sort of resistance known to history, — that of a mob drunken with fanatical rage, without leaders or councillors, ready, if need be, to bury themselves beneath the ruins of the State.

II. MASSACRE OF THE JEWS IN THE EAST.

THE CAMPAIGN OF CESTIUS GALLUS.

Florus had abandoned Jerusalem to its fate sometime during the month of May, 66, and the last Roman guard succumbed there about the end of September;³ thus during four months the insurrection had been allowed to develop its forces without anything having been done on the part of Rome to stay its progress. How are we to account for this inactivity? Josephus, as we have seen, explains it, so far as Florus is concerned, by imputing to him a plot to force matters to the last extremity. But there was Cassius as well, on whom this Procurator was dependent, and who was responsible for this entire quarter of the Empire. Why was he so slow to act? His indolence and well known incapacity when he was pushed to the necessity of taking up arms, furnish in some measure the reason for his conduct; but furthermore we know that from the very first he had shown himself utterly

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xvii. 9, 10.

² *Ibid.*, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xviii. 6.

³ "On the 17th of Eloul (September) the Romans withdrew from Juda and Jerusalem." *Megillath Taanith*, xiv. The outbreak at Jerusalem, resulting from the sacrilegious demands of Florus, took place in the course of the preceding month of May. Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xv. 2.

devoid of discernment. Accustomed as he was to the sectarian strifes which were constantly dividing the inhabitants of Jerusalem into hostile camps, he could not bring himself to believe that the revolt of the city would extend itself beyond its walls; consequently, he argued, of what use was it to expose himself to the fury of a few fanatics who were fated to tear each other to pieces, and whose madness inspired only fear and repulsion among the neighboring peoples? This sudden uprising on the part of all Judea must have upset all his anticipations.

The signal for the outbreak of this tumult issued from Cæsarea. There, more than elsewhere in Palestine, the situation of the Israelites was exceedingly precarious, owing to the fact that they made up scarcely one-half of the population. The rest of the citizens, Syrians and Greeks for the most part, were dependent upon the Romans, who had established the seat of their government there. But here, as everywhere else, Jews and Pagans found it hard to dwell together in harmony. The latter, always assured of enjoying the confidence, or at least the tolerance of the magistrates, lost no opportunity of molesting those of their fellow-citizens who for so many reasons were hateful to them. Hitherto this feeling had vented itself in midnight brawls and secret ambushes, more or less sanguinary in their results, but which the leading men in the city put a stop to as promptly as possible. Upon the news that Jerusalem had succeeded in expelling the Romans neck and crop from out her walls, however, the Pagans of Cæsarea, believing that war had been declared, lost no time in attacking the Jews. In the space of one hour twenty thousand of the latter were slain, nor was a single one left in the city; for Florus gave orders that all who escaped the massacre should be seized and sent to the galleys.¹

All Judea was thrilled with horror by the reports of this carnage, and believed itself threatened with actual extermination. Bands of guerillas were hastily formed,

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xviii. 1,

and these, sweeping down suddenly upon the towns and villages of the Syrians, committed frightful deeds of reprisal. Philadelphia, Hesebon, Gerasa, and Pella were ravaged; the Decapolis and Gaulanitis suffered the same fate. Troops of insurgents swept hither and thither, with no concerted plan of action, moved only by the lust for vengeance which filled their souls. After a daring inroad upon the Tyrian cities, and even upon Cæsarea itself, they fell back to the southward, put Ascalon to the torch and razed Anthedon and Gaza to the ground. On the other hand, the Syrians displayed a desperation as fierce as their own; not content with returning murder for murder, they believed that there was no safety for them in many of the districts until they had massacred all the Jews in the neighboring parts. Even where they did not proceed to such extremities, the situation became none the less intolerable. In every town there were two hostile camps; the nights were passed in alarms, the days in deeds of violence. One incident related by Josephus, is the best witness to the ferocity exhibited on both sides.¹

In Scythopolis the Jews had joined forces with the Syrians in the hope of repelling the rebel bands which were threatening the city. The Pagan population, scenting some treachery in this proffered aid, accepted it on condition of their withdrawal every evening with their families into a forest close by. On the third night the Syrians fell upon the unfortunate allies unexpectedly, and massacred thirteen thousand of them. One of the noblest among these children of Israel, Simon, son of Saul, who had distinguished himself during the engagements of the preceding days, felt all the old faith grow great within him as his last hour drew near. In a loud voice and with a majestic gesture bidding his assailants halt, he cried out to them that he, indeed, deserved to die for having fought in their ranks against his fellow-countrymen, but that he would not receive the death-stroke from any Pagan hand. Thereupon he seized his aged father and slew him. His

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xviii. 1, 2, 5; *Vita*, 6.

mother, his wife, his children, willingly suffered death at his hands; only then, and standing upon their dead bodies he drove his sword into his own heart. The horrified Syrians realized then what they had to expect from men capable of such passions.¹

The storm covering such a territory in Judea could not fail to affect the neighboring regions. Cassius and Agrippa had succeeded in assuaging it in Syria, but in Egypt it raged with all its violence. Here the Israelites had multiplied to such an extent that their dwellings occupied a whole quarter of Alexandria, or, to be more exact, that half of the city called the Delta. Within this domain of theirs, although enjoying complete autonomy, having their tribal courts with their own leaders, they went further and laid claim to privileges granted to the Pagan city, and in consequence frequently came in conflict with the latter.

The tidings which came from Judea agitated them now more than ordinarily would have been the case. Learning that the citizens of Alexandria were deliberating in the Circus as to the sending of a special ambassador to Nero, the Jews were desirous of entering with them and taking part in their assembly; they were, however, received with violence and forcibly ejected; whereupon they returned in a body, bearing burning torches to set fire to the amphitheatre; and this they would have done, had not Alexander, Governor of the city, arrived in time.

The latter personage was a man of their own blood, and Philo's nephew. He exerted himself to the utmost to calm them, but seeing that his efforts were only met with scoffing and he himself showered with insult and contempt, he was forced to have recourse to arms. His troops actually consisted of a whole army corps; for, besides the two legions quartered in the city, five thousand men, lately arrived from Lybia, were there at this juncture.

Driven back into their own section of the city by the

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xviii. 3, 4.

soldiers, the Jews offered a desperate resistance, but overwhelmed by mere numbers, they perished to the last man. When the riot was at last quelled, fifty thousand corpses blocked the streets of the Delta.¹

These conflicts resolved themselves, in fact, into racial and religious wars. In Palestine their ravages were extended over a period of many months, enveloping the whole population in the same dreadful and lamentable fate. Amid all these troubles, what had become of the disciples of Christ? Undoubtedly a large number of them perished too, and of these the larger number, perhaps, fell victims to the fury of the Jews rather than to that of the Pagans. In fact, Josephus speaks of certain "Judaizers" whom the Syrians and Greeks did not confound with the Jews by birth, and whose lives they therefore spared.² Under this appellation the Christians were always comprised together with the Pagans affiliated with Mosaism. Although they were less clearly marked out for popular vengeance than were the Jews, they were none the less looked upon with suspicion by their neighbors, among whom they lived as strangers in a strange land. We may well believe also that even in places where they escaped slaughter they were not safe from acts of rapine which were always the sequel to a general massacre.³ The disciples of Jesus would naturally be the first to suffer such unjust spoliation, and accordingly once more they accepted their fate with calmness and resignation; their hopes and thoughts all set upon that Saviour Who, as Paul had but now reminded them, is ever ready and faithful in recompensing the patience of His Martyrs by the bestowal of infinite rewards. "For yet a little while and He that cometh shall be come, and He shall not tarry."⁴

When this state of anarchy, in the throes of which Judea was struggling, began to spread its terrors throughout the surrounding countries, Cestius Gallus at last saw fit to attempt some measures for its relief. He marched

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xviii. 7-8.

² *Ibid.*, ii. xviii. 2.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Hebr.* x. 37.

up from Antioch toward Jerusalem, at the head of a veritable army; for besides the thirteen thousand men belonging to the regular troops at his disposal, he had collected an equal number of auxiliaries, furnished by those Syrian towns in which the hereditary hatred of the Jews was most inveterate. Two allied princes rode at their head: Sohemus of Emesus and the Jewish King Agrippa. In Galilee and along the coast they met with feeble resistance, and speedily reduced these districts to subjection. On the 24th of October Cestius pitched his camp at Gabaon, some fifty stadia distant from Jerusalem.¹ It was just at the time of the Feast of the Tabernacles, and he expected to encounter a disorganized mob, a mere throng of pilgrims incapable of facing for a moment his disciplined troops. This fresh blunder cost him dearly. There were certain well-seasoned warriors among these strangers on their way Jerusalemwards, — Niger of Peræa; Simon, the son of Gioras; one of Agrippa the Second's former lieutenants, Silas of Babylon, with two princes of Adiabene, — Monobazus and Cenedæus. These leaders marshalled those of the people who were under arms in orderly ranks, distributed the several masses in formidable array, then gave the signal to charge upon their foes. The rout of the Roman troops would have been complete and final had not their cavalry succeeded in turning the Jews and attacking their flank. They were forced thereby to call a halt if they would not be cut off from their base. The Legate was none the less baffled and disconcerted by this vigorous feat of arms. For several days afterward he dared not venture an attack upon the city.²

Agrippa profited by this respite to attempt a supreme effort to use his influence over his compatriots. In the name of Rome he offered them a free and entire amnesty. Many of them lent a willing ear to his appeals, and perhaps he might have succeeded had not the Zealots, sud-

¹ Nearly six miles. Gabaon, the modern El Dgib, is the city of Gibeon, frequently mentioned in the Old Testament. See Guérin, *Judée*, i. 385, 391.

² Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xviii. 9-11; xix. 1, 2.

denly falling upon the two envoys of the Prince, killed one, wounded the other, and scattered all those of their own party who showed any signs of yielding, with blows and a shower of stones. Once more they were left masters of Jerusalem, and were able and in a position to demand war to the death.¹

The only advantage the Romans reaped from this embassy, — an important advantage, however, — was the discovery that the town was divided in sentiment; that there were many there who were disposed to submit. Cestius, who set great stock upon the aid of this more temperate element, regained all his former confidence; drew up his troops closer to the ramparts, about half an hour's journey distant, upon the heights of Scopus, which commands all the region roundabout.² There for three days he awaited the result of the intrigue set on foot by his agents. Finally, on the 30th of October, finding that his plans were ineffectual, he gave the command to advance. The rebels fell back before the legions, so imposing when drawn up in battle array, and took refuge within the Temple and in the Upper City. Cestius occupied without resistance the entire northern district of the town, set fire to the quarter of the city known as Bezetha, and did not halt until arrived at the foot of Sion, before the Palace of the Asmonæans. There again he called a halt, always counting on the possibility that the gates would be opened to him; but the Zealots were there on guard, fully prepared to stifle the first spark of collusion with the enemy. Suspecting certain leaders of the moderate party of carrying on underhand dealings, they flung them down from the top of the walls, and thus demonstrated to the Romans the value of their expectations.

Finally, on the 5th of November, Cestius decided to give the command to assault; the point of attack was the

¹ Josephus *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xix. 3.

² The *Scopus* is "a slightly elevated platform which commands the northwest extremity of the Valley of Josaphat." Guérin, *Description de la Judée*, vol. i. pp. 402, 403. "On the west it approaches the ramparts; a distance of seven stadia separates it from the city." Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, v. ii. 3.

northern side of the Temple. The legionaries raised their shields above their heads, thereby forming an iron vault, known in military parlance as the "turtle-back," which allowed of their approaching the ramparts without being crushed by missiles hurled from above, and forthwith began the work of undermining.

The sound of these muffled and ever-redoubled blows struck terror to the souls of the besieged; even the wildest enthusiasts began to lose heart, and the peace party was getting the upper hand; one final effort on the part of the Romans would have carried the day for them, when suddenly Cestius abandoned his prey and bade his buglers sound the retreat.¹ How account for this incredible panic? In his ignorance of the real state of their minds, did he mistake their cries of powerless rage for those of indomitable fanaticism? Or was he fearful that the multitude of pilgrims who were then tenting about the walls would block his retreat and smother his forces beneath the ramparts? This we shall never know. But the man who had shown himself so ill-advised in the council chamber could hardly have been expected to evince any foresight or fearlessness in the field.

At this stroke of good fortune the rebels for the moment could scarcely believe their eyes, but speedily recovering their former confidence and audacity, they sallied forth in pursuit of the Romans. On the following day Cestius, after being continually harassed by them, was forced to relinquish Scopus, and began a retreat as shameful as it was bloody. His legions, in heavy marching order, advanced but slowly, surrounded by a swarm of foes which hovered about the flanks of his army and attacked them on every side. By the time they reached Gabaon, their first encampment, they had left a trail of dead bodies in their rear, and among these many of their leaders. Even here no rest was given them, and after two days of dreadful suffering they were forced to resume their retreat in all haste toward Cæsarea.

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xix. 4-6.

The slopes of Bethoron, which the Romans were now to descend, form a pass renowned in the chronicles of Israel, but of direful omen to its foes. It was there that Josue had beheld the flight of the Five Kings of Chanaan, overwhelmed by the power of God. There too, addressing the Eternal, he had cried out, "Sun, stay thy course over Gabaon, and thou, O Moon, in the valley of Aialon . . . And the sun stayed in its course for one whole day, and there has not been, either before or since, a day like unto that wherein the Eternal harkened to the voice of a man; for the Eternal was fighting on the side of Israel."¹ This ancient hymn from the book of *Jashar* must have been ringing in the ears of the Jews when they beheld the legions swallowed up in that narrow defile. In swarms they thronged up the rocks which overhang it; crouched in ambush in gorges, some firing from above a fusillade of missiles upon them, while others, from front and rear, cut off their path. Had not night fallen, not one Roman would have escaped. The Legate took advantage of the darkness to make good his escape to the plain below, with the remnant of the troops left to him. He had lost five thousand men and the Eagle of the Twelfth Legion. Since the defeat of Varus in the forests of Germany, Rome had never suffered a like disgrace. It was the death-blow of Cestius.²

¹ Josue x. 12-14.

² Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xix. 7-9.

CHAPTER X.

THE EPISTLE OF ST. JUDE—ST. PAUL'S LAST MISSION JOURNEY.

THE Christians of Judea had little leisure during the dark days through which their land was passing to amuse themselves with fantastic dreams or dogmatic discussions as of yore. Persecuted by the priestly aristocracy, thereafter caught in the meshes of a sanguinary rebellion, they simply clung to their faith without dealing in any subtilities, but satisfied if they could but follow the example of James and the Elders. Very different was the conduct of their brethren in Upper Syria and Asia Minor; the intellectual divigations and wanton living against which the Bishop of Jerusalem has spoken so strongly¹ were still too much in evidence among a goodly number of believers. Certain false doctors persisted in propagating this evil by distorting Paul's doctrine concerning the abrogation of the Law. Pretending to understand thereby the whole code of morality, they asserted that the Apostle had released suffering humanity from all its bonds and given it free license to satisfy its appetites, no matter what they might be. This was nothing less than to transform his proclamation of a spiritual emancipation, and of a perfectly pure and heavenly grace which should accompany it, into a propaganda of licentiousness.² To give some show of authority to this debasement of the human senses, they must needs begin by corrupting the souls of their hearers and obscure the clear rays which Jesus sheds on all alike. Nor were these children of darkness found wanting in this respect; they even went so far as to deny that Divine Saviour and to treat both His reign here below,³

¹ See Chapter II.

² Jude 4.

³ Ibid.

and His return to judge the world as a dream and a chimera.¹

One voice was raised in indignant protest against this work of corruption, apparently some time during the period now occupying our attention.² It was the voice of Jude, one of the Twelve, which made itself heard in tones so vigorous and with a forcefulness of thought well fitted to surprise us, coming from an Apostle whose history and whose person had hitherto been kept completely in the shade. After the mention of his calling, he appears but once during the Public Life of the Saviour, and then only to interrupt the Master's speech and show himself strangely dull of comprehension.³ In the Evangelist's

¹ Jude 14, 15.

² The numerous similarities to be noticed in the eleventh chapter of the Second Epistle of St. Peter, and St. Jude's letter, form the only basis we have for determining the date of the latter. Indeed, we have only to compare the two works to convince ourselves that one of these Apostles was an actual eye-witness of the events which the other one had written about, and that he is referring to him. Now for the following reason it would seem that the priority ought to be conceded to St. Jude's Epistle. This short missive is not couched in the style of a commentary, or of a letter carefully composed with the idea of explaining and confirming some earlier work. It is a sudden and spontaneous effort directed against corrupters of the faithful. Jude makes no mention of the Apostles, whose authority would have lent great weight to his words. On the other hand, the heresy anathematized in both Epistles is better known to St. Peter, set forth by him in greater detail, and refuted by arguments far clearer and more convincing. From this it is natural to conclude that the first was written by Jude at a time when these errors had not as yet obtained their full development, or were known only imperfectly, and for this reason he could not speak in more explicit terms. Furthermore, if he really had in his possession the work of the Prince of the Apostles, how are we to explain the fact that he omitted to make use of certain of its features admirably fitted for his purposes? For instance, when citing the same examples of a Divine retribution, how did he come to pass over the most striking one, the Deluge? (2 Peter ii. 5.) If we take the other hypothesis, these difficulties disappear: St. Peter, writing with the idea of completing and confirming Jude's letter, explains certain passages more at length, omits certain others, and elsewhere alludes so briefly to certain points that his meaning would be more than doubtful to us if we had not Jude's letter to cast some light upon it. (2 Peter ii. 11; Jude 9.) For a comparative study of the two texts, De Wette-Brückner, *Handbuch*, vol. i. p. 3, pp. 163-170; Hundhausen, *Die beiden Pontificatschr. des Ap. Petrus*, ii., pp. 100-112; Rampf, *Der Brief Judæ*, pp. 156-162.

³ John xiv. 22. See the interpretation of this passage in *The Christ The Son of God*, book vi., chap. v., sect. 1.

eyes it would seem that the only illustrious thing about him was his birth, by virtue of which he was the son of Mary, sister of the Blessed Virgin,¹ and the brother of James.² The latter title in the primitive Church served to distinguish him from Judas Iscariot,³ as well as from the various other Judases. He himself makes use of it,⁴ as if he too delighted to recall the fact that such intimate ties united him to the great Bishop of Jerusalem.

But something far closer than mere kinship of blood, a brotherhood of the soul, bound these two together. The single page which we possess from the pen of Jude proves that he was as much attached to the Olden Covenant as was James; like him nourishing his mind upon the great past of Israel, its glorious annals, its Prophets, and its traditions as well. Ever since the era of the Machabees, the latter had been carefully gathered up by the Jews, and constituted a series of so-called Apochrypha, a notable portion of which has come down to us. Whether Jude really had these documents at his disposal, or whether he was drawing simply on the original traditions themselves, he unquestionably made use of these sources when writing his Epistle. We can trace in particular the influences upon his mind of the "Visions" attributed to Henoch,⁶

¹ Matt. xiii. 55.

³ John xiv. 22.

² Luke vi. 16.

⁴ Jude 1.

⁵ The Prayer of Manassah, Third Book of Esdras, Third and Fourth Books of the Macchabees, The Book of Henoch, The Psalms of Solomon, The Apocalypse, and The Assumption of Moses, and a part of the Sibylline Books (verses 97-828 of the Third Book).

⁶ Henoch, raised up by God, like Elias (Gen. v. 24), was one of the most venerated personages in the Old Testament; one of those through whose mediation they expected to both see and hear the manifestation of the Eternal. Some few authentic sayings of this Patriarch were in all likelihood preserved by oral tradition, and formed the kernel about which, in the course of time, there grew up a mass of apocryphal visions and revelations. In the second century before Christ, these traditions, for the most part legendary, were embodied in the so-called Book of Henoch, an apocryptical document, composed originally in Aramæan, afterwards translated into Greek, revised and altered again and again in the course of time, — in the final instance probably by some Jewish convert to Christianity. Though this work enjoyed great renown in the first centuries of the Church, it never found a place either in the Canon of the Jews or in that of the Christians. To-day we possess no integral copy of it except in an Ethiopian version, discovered by Bruce in Abyssinia (1773), and very

as well as of the narrative whose subject matter was the death and assumption of Moses.¹ The Divine Spirit revealed to the Apostle the foundation of truth on which these echoing chambers of the past were erected, while from the more or less authentic sayings of Enoch, God gave him power to distinguish certain words actually pronounced by that Patriarch.² Among all the legends which the mysterious burial of Moses had given rise to, the Holy Ghost here certifies to the fact that Satan had sought to steal his body, intending to exhibit it for the adoration of the Jews, and that to thwart his designs the Archangel Michael needed but to call down the name and the judgment of God upon him.

This constant reference to traditional incidents, of as little interest to the Gentile world as they were dear to the Israelites, is proof enough that Jude was addressing an audience of converted Jews. But from what locality was he writing to them? This we are unable to decide with any degree of certitude, since no precise data are left us concerning the ministry of this Apostle. In the fourth and fifth centuries, Upper Syria and Mesopotamia,³ near neigh-

carefully edited by Dillmann (1851). George le Syncelle, however, has preserved certain fragments of the Greek text, and M. Bouriant recovered the first thirty-two chapters of this version in 1886.

¹ The death of Moses is recounted in Deuteronomy (xxxiv. 5, 6) as follows: "And Moses, the servant of the Eternal, died there, in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Eternal; and He buried him in the valley of the land of Moab over against Beth-Peor; and no one unto this day knoweth of his sepulchre." The mystery enshrouding his burial place gave rise to many legends, which were collected in the Apocryphal book entitled: *Ἀνάληψις Μωυσέως*, *The Assumption of Moses*. All we know of this work is contained in a fragment discovered in the Ambrosian Library of Milan in 1861: (Ceriani, *Monumenta sacra et profana*, vol. i., fasc. 1, pp. 55-62), and through certain quotations by the Fathers (Clement of Alexandria, *Adumbr. in ep. Jud.* [Zahn, *Supplementum Clementinum*, p. 84]; *Strom.*, i. 22, 153; vi. 15, 132; Origen, *De principis*, iii. 21; *In Josuam*, Hom., ii. 1; Didymus of Alexandria, *In Epist. Judæ, enarratio*, etc.) St. Jude may have been acquainted with this work, for the best critics, Ewall, Wieseler, Drummond, and Dillmann, agree in referring its composition to the time of our Lord.

² "Scripsisse quidem nonnulla divina Enoch illum septimum ab Adam negare non possumus, cum hoc in epistola canonica Judas apostolus dicat." St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, xv. 23, 4.

³ Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, i. 13; St. Jerome, in *Matth.*, x. 4;

bors of the Christian congregation of Asia founded by Saint Paul, were believed to have been the field of his evangelical labors. It was to the last-named Churches, as we have seen, that James wrote his letter;¹ and according to all appearance it was for them also that Jude destined his. He has in view the same corrupters of faith and morals, who, in place of the illumination from on High, were seeking to substitute their own animal and diabolical wisdom, the mere instinct of brutes devoid of reason; these were the same adulterous souls which were polluting the Agape, whose calm they disturbed by mocking words and arrogant discourses, defiling all they came in contact with by their lewd touch.²

James had foreseen the effect his Epistle would have on these carnal men: the mirror he held up to them reflected their image but too faithfully; they would slink away abashed even while he was beseeching them to listen to right reason.³ Thus, so far as they were concerned, the Apostle's words were destined to bear no fruit; they had persisted in this workmanship of death, — with no noise, however, but “creeping stealthily,”⁴ like venom poured in the veins of the Churches whose bodies they infected. The plague spot had pushed its roots deeper than Jude had any notion of when he first conceived the idea of writing to these Christians. Indeed, it had been a long-cherished project of his to do something toward encouraging the Asiatic communities by reminding them of “salvation common unto all the elect, the beloved of God the Father.”⁵ Accordingly his letter, prepared “with great care,”⁶ was simply intended in the first instance as an exhortation couched in such terms as would be best adapted to encourage those Christian congregations which

Nicephorus Callistus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ii. 40; Assemani, *Bibloth. Orient.*, III. 2.

¹ Chapter II., p. 31.

² James ii. 2-4, 6, 7; iii. 14, 15; iv. 2, 4, 16; v. 1-6; Jude 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 16.

³ James i. 23, 24.

⁴ Jude 4, Παρεισέδυσαν.

⁵ Ibid., 3.

⁶ Ibid., Πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιούμενος γράφειν.

Paul's prolonged absence had left leaderless. But some fortuitous circumstance put him in possession of more definite news concerning the true state of these Churches, and of the corruption breeding in their midst; Jude realized forthwith that at such a crisis heroic remedies were needed; he must needs use his scalpel vigorously if he would remove all danger of mortification to the body, and save the true souls by cutting off the false. This explains the energetic spirit which animates his Epistle, making it read like a veritable battle-cry cast in the teeth of heresy:

"Jude, the slave of Jesus Christ and brother of James, to them that are chosen as the well beloved of God the Father and preserved by Jesus Christ! May Mercy, Peace, and Love increase within you more and more.

"Dearly beloved: Even whilst I was taking every care to write unto you on the subject of our common salvation, I found myself under the necessity of addressing you these words, to conjure you to defend the Faith which hath been taught unto the Saints once for all. For certain men have stolen in among you (of whom it had been foretold long since that they would incur this judgment) who turn the grace of God into profligacy, and deny our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ.

"Now, therefore, I wish to remind you of what you learned erstwhile, namely, that the Lord, having saved the people out of the land of Egypt, did afterward destroy such as showed themselves unbelieving;¹ that He detained them bound in the land of darkness, and reserveth unto the judgment of the Great Day those Angels who did not maintain their pristine dignity, but forsook their own habitation; and that Sodom and Gomorrah and the neighboring cities, for having given themselves to fornication and fallen into the abuse of strange flesh, were made an example of, suffering the punishment of eternal fire.² In like manner these visionaries also defile the flesh, despise all authority, condemn all dignities. The Archangel Michael himself durst not use words of execration against Satan when he disputed with him touching the body of Moses, and was content to say to him, 'May God display His Power over thee!'

¹ Num. xiv. 37.

² Gen. xix. 24.

But these men blaspheme that of which they are utterly ignorant; and whatsoever things they know naturally, like beasts devoid of reason, these they corrupt. Woe unto them! For they are walking in the path of Cain,¹ and for money they are plunging into the devious ways of Balaam.² Imitators of the rebellious Korah,³ like him they shall perish. These men are a disgrace to your Agape; there in your company they feast shamelessly, thinking of naught but to fill their bellies. These are but clouds without water, borne hither and thither by the winds; barren trees which flourish only in the autumn, twice dead, plucked up by the roots, raging waves of the sea, casting up the spume of their infamies; wandering stars unto whom the shades of darkness are reserved for all eternity. 'T was of them that Henoah, the seventh Patriarch after Adam, prophesied in these terms: 'Behold the Lord cometh with His Myriad Saints to execute His judgment on all; to convict the ungodly of every work of ungodliness which they have committed, and of every blasphemous word which these ungodly sinners have uttered against Him.'⁴ Murmurers these, ceaselessly complaining, they walk according to their own lusts; their mouths are full of pompous words, but they speak only for the admiration of men, to further their own interests.

"As for you, my dearly beloved, be mindful of what hath been foretold you by the Apostles of Our Lord Jesus Christ. They told you that in the later days there would appear impostors walking according to their own ungodly lusts. These be they who separate themselves; being sensual men, they have not the Spirit. But you, dearly beloved, building yourselves upon the foundation of Our Most Holy Faith, and praying by the Holy Ghost, keep yourselves in the love of God in expectation of the Mercy of Our Lord Jesus Christ unto Life Everlasting. Reprove them that strive against you, but others there be whom you shall save by snatching them out of the burning; others, too, on whom you shall have compassion, taking good heed unto your-

¹ Gen. iv. 8-16.

² Num. xxii. 7, 18-21; xxv. 1-9; xxxi. 15, 16.

³ Ibid., xvi.

⁴ In the Book of Henoah (i. 9) we find a passage analogous to this quotation in St. Jude.

selves, however, and hating even the garment which the flesh hath soiled.¹

“Now, unto Him Who is able to preserve you without sin, and to present you spotless before the Throne of His Glory, with exceeding joy, unto the only God Our Saviour through Our Lord Jesus Christ, be Glory, Majesty, Power, and Empire before all ages, and now and forever and evermore, Amen.”

The vigorous tone of this Apostolical missive won for it many readers and great renown everywhere in the East. This we know from the fact that when Peter was approaching his end and wrote his second letter to the Churches of those parts, he could conceive no means better fitted to touch their hearts than by making Jude's words his own. Paul, too, on his part, was never forgetful of these Christian congregations, the first fruits of his Apostolate in Pagan lands, and was now returning from the confines of the East to consecrate his final labors to their welfare. We have already seen him, while tarrying in some part of Italy, dictating to one of his disciples his letter to the Hebrews, and addressing it to the Mother Church, then so sorely tried.

There were other Christians, however, no less exposed to perils, especially those of Crete, which lay directly on his route, travelling by sea from Spain to Asia Minor. Paul did not know them personally, having merely touched the island during a storm which swept his vessel from the docks of Myra on to the rocks of Malta;² but he had been informed that these communities were in a state of abandonment, leaderless, and perpetually in danger of falling into error. He resolved to visit them

¹ Here St. Jude would seem to distinguish between three sorts of persons infected by the heresy. The first are the obstinate sectaries, disputants to whom no consideration is due, nor is of any avail; let them be condemned unhesitatingly. The second class, over whom the Faith still retained some ascendancy, must be vigorously snatched like brands from the burning. As for the last mentioned, who are not completely under their sway, but are yet capable of embracing the truth and finding salvation, to all such it behooves them to display a tender compassion. Let them be on their guard, however, in this charitable business, lest they soil themselves and breathe in the pestilential error.

² See *St. Paul and his Missions*, chap. xviii.

together with Titus, and to supply them with what was most needed for their preservation, namely, a body of Pastors united to the Apostolic College.

How are we to account for the absence of a regular constitution in the island of Crete? Evidently because neither the Twelve nor any of their delegates had founded these Christian congregations. The seeds of the true faith had been wafted hither from the coast cities of Asia, where it was blossoming so luxuriantly, perchance from Jerusalem itself; and this must have happened at the very outset, for Cretans are mentioned in the Acts among the eye-witnesses of the Pentecost.¹ In the period which followed, that intercourse which was never allowed to flag between the various synagogues of the Roman world kept alive among Christians of Crete the same eager interest which the name and deeds of Jesus everywhere awakened. Furthermore, there is every reason to believe that some disciples of the Saviour were to be found among the sons of Israel whose duty it was to visit the numerous colonies of Jews throughout the island where they resided.² By some such means the Glad Tidings had been spread throughout this region.

From whatever point they may have come, these seeds of Faith had budded forth and borne fruit already; for in many of the island cities Paul encountered Christian fraternities. Deprived of leaders as they were, these groups of Christians were of anything but sturdy growth. Another cause, however, and one still more enervating, helped to increase this spiritual languor. The Cretans had an unfortunate reputation, so far as morality and character were concerned. Ancient writers depict them as the readiest of liars,³ avaricious, greedy, crafty;⁴ and Saint Paul says nothing to lessen their ill-repute.

¹ Acts ii. 11.

² Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, xvii. xii. 1; *Bell. Jud.*, ii. vii. 1; Philo., *Leg. ad Cai.*, sect. 36.

³ Polybius, vi. 47, 5; viii. 21, 5; Ovid, *Ars Amator*, i. 297. *Κρητίξεν*, "to speak Cretan," and "to lie" are synonymous terms in Greek: *κρητίξεν πρὸς Κρήτας ἐπειδὴ ψεύσται καὶ ἀπατεῶνες εἰσι*. Suidas.

⁴ Polybius, iv. 8, 11; vi. 46, 3; Plutarch, *Paul. Æmil.*, 23; Titus Livy, xlv. 45, etc.

What could he expect from neophytes bred in this tainted atmosphere? Jews and Pagans alike had breathed in the seeds of contagion. Their unwholesome natures were ill-adapted to answer the promptings of Grace. In many souls faith had operated so freely as to revive in them the noble instincts of their race, thus rendering them upright and pure; but others there were, not less numerous, who were still only partly redeemed from the corrupting influences about them. Christians in name, at bottom they differed hardly at all from the unbelievers; "reason, conscience, all that was in them, were still defiled."¹ "They profess to know God," says Paul, "but they deny Him by their works, being abominable, rebellious, and reprobate to every good work."² It was especially among the Jews that the Apostle encountered such rebellious hearts and self-opinionated minds, — men who seemed to have accepted the Faith with the sole idea of distorting it. "They busied themselves solely in leading astray men's souls by filling their minds with foolish fables,"³ — those pernicious fables which Paul had already combated at Ephesus and Colossæ.⁴ From these Churches, near neighbors of Crete, the weeds and tares had infested this island, taking root as speedily as the good grain, and threatening its extinction; for these "vain babblers"⁵ knew well how to make the greatest impression, and thus gain an audience for their idle fancies. Paul beheld "whole households subverted by them;"⁶ but his indignation was not excited so much by the renown enjoyed by these seducers as it was by the tireless energy which they evinced. He saw at once that preaching was merely a means of coining money in the eyes of these mercenary souls, and that they were but carrying on a traffic at the expense of their dupes.⁷ It was easy for the Apostle, by simply tearing away the mask which covered their base cupidity, to render them odious; but in

¹ Tit. i. 15.² Ibid., i. 16.³ Ibid., i. 10.⁴ Ibid., i. 10.⁴ See Chapters III. and IV.⁵ Ματαιολόγοι. Tit. i. 10.⁶ Tit. i. 11.⁷ Διδάσκοντες ἃ μὴ δεῖ αἰσχροῦ κέρδους χάριν. Tit. i. 11.

order to nullify their influence completely, a persevering and prolonged struggle would be required. Nor, indeed, would it be enough for him to meet and overwhelm those corrupters of morals whom he met on his way. It behooved him to prevent them from regaining any ascendancy over men's minds. Now, to attain this end, nothing was of greater importance than the constitution of a body of Pastors, the lack of which they had so grievously felt in the Island of Crete.¹

With so many other pressing duties on his hands, Paul could not linger long enough to make the preparations necessary for the laying of such solid foundations in the Churches of this region. But he had with him his disciple Titus, the one man after him the most capable of displaying the requisite persistency and vigor. We have beheld him in Corinth, speaking with such authority in the name of his teacher that the culprits trembled before him and hastened to submit.² Paul, realizing that in this "son worthy of him"³ there beat a heart steadfast as it was valiant, relied on his strong arm in many a critical hour. But there was another quality in Titus's character which he esteemed as highly as he did this strength of soul, and that was the unselfishness which he displayed in devoting himself to his Apostolical labors, refusing, as did his master, to be indebted in any way to those he evangelized. In order to silence certain Corinthians who taunted him with self-seeking, Paul needed but to remind them of the generosity of his companion. "Did Titus enrich himself at your expense? Did we not act in the same spirit? Did we not walk in the same steps?"⁴

It was precisely such an example of indifference to self that he wished displayed to the Cretans as in most striking contrast to the covetousness of their own misleaders. Nothing could be better calculated to undeceive the minds of well-meaning men than such a comparison. This lofty virtue had been ripened in Titus by the experience and

¹ Tit. i. 5.

² *St. Paul and his Missions*, chap. xii., p. 294.

³ Γρηγόριος τέκνῳ. Tit. i. 4.

⁴ 2 Cor. xii. 18.

the maturity requisite to make it bear full fruit. Paul had no hesitation in confiding to him the task of reviving the Faith in the island, relying on him to complete and to fill in the work along lines which he had barely sketched. As for himself, it behooved him to make haste and cross over to the shores of Asia, there to visit his own Churches, which, as he was well aware, had long since fallen into the snares of the sectarians. The miseries created everywhere here in Crete by heresy made him fearful of discovering worse ravages among their Christian neighbors on the mainland.

CHAPTER XI.

THE EPISCOPATE — PASTORAL EPISTLES.

THE fears of the Apostle were but too well founded; the predictions made by him to the Elders of Ephesus on the strands of Miletus had been fulfilled only too literally: the wolves had indeed fallen upon the flock and were spreading death and destruction everywhere.¹ These destroyers were of the Synagogue party, wherein, if we are to understand Saint Paul's expression literally, they were ranked among the "Doctors of the Law."² The high sounding speeches whereby they seduced the weak minded, women especially, were a mere redundancy of words; since, as they had but the vaguest idea of their own meaning, they were quite at a loss when seeking to prove the assertions which they shouted so lustily, lest their hearers might discern the emptiness of their phrases. These crude imaginings were compounded of a little of everything, — Jewish fables, cunning myths, and interminable genealogies,³ which the Gnostics were soon to transform into their chains of Eons, ever intermingling and begetting other forms.⁴ These artificers of error loudly proclaimed that they had a loftier doctrine than the Gospel, but in fact all that they had to offer the people was but a lot of outworn beliefs gathered from the rubbish heap of the nations. To bring some show of order out of this chaos of discordant conceptions, they held that everything was to be taken in an allegorical sense, declar-

¹ Acts xx. 29.

² Νομοδιδάσκαλοι. 1 Tim. 1. 7.

³ Ἰουδαϊκοῖς μυθοῖς, Tit. i. 14. βεβήλους καὶ γραῶδεις μύθους, 1 Tim. iv. 7. Γενεαλογίαις ἀπεράντοις, 1 Tim. 1, 4.

⁴ We have examined these vain imaginings of heresy already in the third chapter; hence I simply refer to them here in a few words.

ing, for instance, that the one and only Resurrection had already taken place, since it is simply a transformation of the soul wakened from the death of ignorance unto the life of truth.¹

Such were the mad speculations wherein Paul found his Christian communities had gone astray, quarrelling among themselves to the ruin of all brotherly love,² and clinging so tenaciously to their errors that it needed all his strength to detach them. The leaders of the heresy were Hymenæus, Philetus, and a coppersmith named Alexander.³ The latter in particular opposed him most obstinately and showed so much bitterness that the Apostle could never forget this sad incident. However, there was no way left of silencing the sectaries save by casting them out of the Church.⁴ Their excommunication sufficed for the time being to disarm the worst of his foes, but was it not to be feared that the disturbances, now held in check by the presence of the Apostle, would be renewed after his departure? At Ephesus, as in Crete, Paul realized that the only remedy for this evil consisted in a stronger government set over each Church, and his thoughts were all absorbed in its institution.

Elsewhere⁵ we have had glimpses of the Hierarchy as it was constituted in those communities wherein supernatural gifts were remarkable for their profusion, in so much that, without distinction of persons, each and every believer, when impelled by the Divine Spirit, rose up among the brethren to reveal the future, to instruct and to guide them. Under these extraordinary conditions, which were not, however, destined to last long, what became of the authority devised to the College of Elders and Priests set over each Church? They were content, as we have seen, to simply fulfil their sacerdotal functions and to preside over their meetings; as, however, the latter duty in many cases could not be undertaken collectively,

¹ 2 Tim. ii. 18.

² 1 Tim. vi. 4, 5.

³ 1 Tim. i. 20; 2 Tim. ii. 17; iv. 14.

⁴ 1 Tim. i. 20.

⁵ *St. Paul and his Missions*, chap. viii.

they had been moved to designate one of their Pastors to act in the name of the body and carry out their joint resolutions. The same motives which determined their choice of a candidate, such as the confidence placed in him by the faithful, his social standing and aptitude for the task, impelled them to keep such an one in office and leave the common administration in his hands. The Elder or Priest to whom such powers were delegated became logically the Director of the Church, "the Overseer"¹ of its intimate life, of its external relations, and its temporal interests.

Such was in all likelihood the course marked out by the Apostles for the evolution of the Hierarchy; a slow transformation, whereby they were quietly preparing and inclining their flocks to accept as leader and Pastor a single Bishop, in place of the body of Elders which had governed them at the outset. It is evident, however, that under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they would make no undue haste in the matter, but wait until the time when the supernatural gifts of prophecy, counsel, and government, which were becoming daily less superabundant, should give place to a more regular and definitive condition of things. However, the Twelve never forgot that while they lived the highest jurisdiction in the Church was to remain in their hands, and that the Bishops were as yet but their appointed successors. The one thing needful was to arrange matters beforehand in such wise that on their decease this succession would be accepted naturally; that each branch of Christendom, each single Church, should thereby be joined, either directly or through an intermediary, to the Apostolic trunk. True it is that no trace of any instructions given them upon this subject are to be gleaned from the letters of Saint Peter and Saint Paul; but, from among the many traditions which they bequeathed to the Roman Church, Saint Clement cites "the rules laid down by the Apostles to insure the rights of succession in such a manner that

¹ Ἐπίσκοπος, the Bishop.

after their death other men of well proven ability should be invested with their charge.”¹ Everything goes to confirm the existence of such arrangements, which, without making any changes for the present, were a guarantee for the future; in proof of which we have the list of Bishops going back as far as the Apostles, given on the authority of such writers as Hegesippus, Saint Irenæus, and Saint Dionysius of Corinth, and this fact especially, that only fifty years later we find the Episcopate established throughout the Christian world. Such a consensus of fact and feeling throughout Christendom can only be explained on the supposition that the government of a single head over each Church is of Apostolic institution.² Some perhaps may be astonished that I do not try to prove from the Epistles to Titus and to Timothy³ that

¹ St. Clement, *Epist. ad Corinth.*, xliv. ; St. Irenæus (*Adv. Hæres.* iii. 2, 3) tells us that this letter is a faithful tradition which the Roman Church held as a sacred heritage from St. Peter and St. Paul. It is their faith and their teaching that we find therein; just as in the Epistle of St. Polycarp we possess the traditions which St. John left to the Churches of Smyrna and Ephesus.

² Concerning the formation of the Episcopate, see De Smedt, *Organisation des Églises chrétiennes jusqu'au milieu du III^e siècle*; Duchesne, *les Origines chrétiennes*, chap. vi. ; cf. Lightfoot, *Philippians*, *THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY*, pp. 179-267; Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 364-374.

³ These three are generally known by the name “Pastoral Epistles,” because they treat of the Pastors’ ministry. From the beginning, and all during the first three centuries, we always find them attributed to St. Paul by orthodox writers. The sole objection, and a very specious one it is, brought by the Rationalists of our day against the unanimous tradition, is the difference of the style which they make so much of between the Pastoral and the preceding Epistles of the Apostle. This diversity, which they exaggerate at will, has nothing strange or remarkable about it to anyone who honestly tries to understand under what circumstances St. Paul wrote his last letters; for the style of every man varies according to his age, the subject in question, and the more or less sustained attention devoted to it by the writer. On the other hand, compare the Pastorals with the bits of practical advice which terminate the greater Epistles, and it will no longer be the difference of style which will strike the student, but rather the similarity in composition, in language, even in the tricks of speech. There are reasons in abundance which go to establish its authenticity; Catholics and Protestants alike have made good use of them. See in particular: Cornely, *Introductio*, sects. 182, 183; Vigouroux and Bacuez, *Manuel Biblique*, vol. iv., pp. 775-778; Farrar, *Life of St. Paul*, vol. ii.: Appendix, Excursus ix.; Alford, *Prolegomena on the Pastoral Epistles*.

even then Paul meant to impress a monarchical form upon certain Churches. But to any one who compares the various passages contained in these letters, it will be clear that the terms Priest and Bishop continue to be used here as synonyms, and that the Apostle does not take the latter title in the special sense which we give it.¹ On the other hand, there is nothing to indicate that when leaving Titus in Crete and Timothy at Ephesus he intrusted them with any other mission than one of temporary functions, a supervision analogous to that which Epaphras exercised over the congregations of the Lycus.² There seems, therefore, no more reason for attributing to Paul with any degree of certainty the creation of Bishops during this latter period than hitherto; in all probability the Apostle confined himself to indicating, in the principal flocks under his care, which pastor was to succeed him in this superior rank of the Hierarchy.³

But these were merely precautionary means taken in view of eventualities which would follow upon the death of the Apostle; the necessities of the moment were not

¹ In the Epistle to Titus, the Priests "*πρεσβύτεροι*," whom Paul bids him ordain in every Christian community, are called by him in the same passage *ἐπίσκοποι*. *Καταστήσης κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους . . . εἰ τις ἐστὶν ἀνέγκλητος . . . δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνέγκλητον εἶναι*. Tit. i. 5-7; cf. Acts xx. 17, 28; 1 Peter v. 1, 2, etc.

² The Christian community of Jerusalem was the only Church, so far as we have seen, during the earliest days, which was governed by a single Pastor. See *St. Peter*, chap. xi.

³ "Catholic theologians, even while contending, as they generally do, that the institution of the Episcopate, as an order distinct from that of simple priests, is of Divine Right, may nevertheless concede, without any disadvantage to their contention, that this institution did not attain to its complete development and its definitive form until after the time of the Apostles. As long as the latter lived the Church possessed in them a visible and living Authority, distinctly recognized and to which belonged the mission of preserving and transmitting the deposit of Faith, the moral doctrine of Jesus Christ. . . . Nothing forbids our supposing, or at least regarding as possible, that the Apostles always retained the government of the Churches in their own hands; using as their assistants and substitutes in the ordinary and regular exercises of worship, as well as in certain functions of administration, those whom we call simple priests, who govern in their name. In that case, the Bishops of a later day, would be in the rigorous sense of the word, successors of the Apostles." De Smedt, *l'Organisation des Églises chrétiennes jusqu'au milieu du III^e siècle*, pp. 13, 14.

less urgent. Paul provided for this by his vigilance in fortifying, and to the same end reforming, the body of Elders which he left in charge of the Churches. Hitherto these Pastors had not been chosen by any fixed rules; in one place by merit or because of their known virtues; in another, and this was oftenest the case, as having been designated for the position by the Apostle or Evangelist who had founded the congregation. In his letters to Timothy and to Titus Paul lays down the following conditions: Every member who aspires to take his place among the Elders, the *Presbyteri*, must make a solemn profession to detach himself from the world, that he may belong to God alone;¹ doubtless it is lawful for him to desire this ministry, which in itself is a good and saintly work;² but thereby he pledges himself to strive after a higher state of perfection, since the Pastor, once invested with this supervision³ over the flock, becomes the dispenser, "the steward of God."⁴ By virtue of this title it behooves him to be "an example to all, a pattern to the faithful in his words and conduct; in Charity, in Faith, in Chastity;"⁵ in a word, he must be ever "beyond reproach,"⁶ not only in the sight of his flock, but in that of the pagans as well.⁷ He must prove himself, therefore, to be "neither self-willed nor easily provoked nor given to wine-bibbing, nor hasty to strike, nor greedy of filthy gains; but hospitable, loving the good, wise, just, pious, continent."⁸ He must have married but one wife, ruling his own family well and keeping his children in subjection with all gravity; for if a man knows not how to conduct his own household, how can he take charge of the Church of God?⁹ Any new convert must be regarded as ineligible, lest being puffed up by pride he fall under the same condemnation as the Devil.¹⁰ Why should they look to a neophyte to

¹ 2 Tim. ii. 4.

² 1 Ibid., iii. 1.

³ The word *ἐπίσκοπος* has this signification both in classical Greek and in the Septuagint.

⁴ Θεοῦ οἰκονόμος. Tit. i. 7.

⁸ Tit. i. 7, 8; 1 Tim. iii. 2, 3.

⁵ 1 Tim. iv. 12.

⁹ 1 Tim. iii. 2, 4, 5; Tit. i. 6.

⁶ Ibid., iii. 2.

¹⁰ 1 Tim. iii. 6.

⁷ Ibid., iii. 7.

instruct the Faithful, since this weighty duty demands a Pastor "deeply attached to the truths of the Faith as he has received them, capable of exhorting them in sound doctrines and of rebuking such as gainsay them?"¹

Paul gave them similar counsels in regard to the Deaconship. We have seen that from the outset this office was committed only to men "filled with the Holy Ghost and with wisdom."² The Apostle's one hope was to keep the secondary ministers of the Hierarchy true to this high ideal, and he urges them to strive after perfection as earnestly as he does the Priests. Grave, sincere, and temperate, let them choose some honest means of livelihood, keeping the mystery of the Faith with a pure conscience. Let their wives also be women of gravity, not scandal-mongers, but sober and faithful in all things. Like the Priests, finally, the Deacons must be married but once, and take good heed to the conduct of their children and their households. The Deacon, although a server by name and by office, is none the less raised to a rank of eminence in the Church; his is the mission to teach and defend the Faith of the Christ Jesus with great hardihood. This ministry, therefore, should be intrusted to such only of the Faithful as have been put to the proof and been recognized as without reproach.³

Taken together these rules actually constituted the Hierarchy.⁴ There remained, however, a point of great importance which Paul was careful not to neglect, namely, the guidance of women in the Church. They, too, had had a large share in the diffusion of supernatural gifts. In Cæsarea, as we have seen, the four daughters of Philip were endowed with the gift of Prophecy;⁵ in Corinth, likewise,

¹ Tit. i. 9.

² Acts vi. 3. See *St. Peter*, chap. iv.

³ 1 Tim. iii. 8-13.

⁴ As to the organization of the Hierarchy see, besides De Smedt and Duchesne quoted above, Lightfoot, *Epistle to the Philippians* (1888); Dissert. i., *THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY*; A. Harnack, *Lehre der zwölf Apostel* (1884); R. Söhm, *Kirchenrecht*, vol. 1 (1892); P. Batifol, *l'Eglise naissante*; iii., *les Institutions hiérarchiques de l'Eglise*, in the *Revue biblique*, October, 1895, pp. 473-500; J. Réville, *les Origines de l'épiscopat* (1894).

⁵ Acts xxi. 8, 9.

we found inspired women praying in a loud voice and foretelling the future in the Christian gatherings.¹ The Apostle was compelled to intervene and inculcate a more modest reserve, but at the same time he took care to find some means of employing the ardor of their faith and charity. It was he, apparently, who had instituted throughout the Christian congregations of Asia the order of Deaconesses to which belonged "Phœbe, the servant of the Church at Kenchreæ."² These corporations of pious women he organized after the pattern of the Deaconship, and intrusted them with analogous functions, — the assistance of the poor, visiting the sick, and the duties of hospitality. He even confided to them some share in the higher functions in the ministry; such as the duty of instructing and consoling persons of their own sex, preparing them for Baptism, confirming them in faith and piety, as well as superintending them in the religious meetings.³

It would seem that at first the conditions of membership in this Diaconate for women were hardly at all restricted; virgins and widows of whatever age were cordially welcomed, once they signified their willingness to offer themselves to the Christ and to His Church. But here, as everywhere else, once the first fervor died out, serious abuses came to light. It was discovered that the young women soon returned to a life of ease and idleness; prattlers and busybodies, they would run from house to house, with no womanly reserve or regard to propriety in their gossiping. The Pagans made this another excuse to decry the Faith, ridiculing these women who after consecrating themselves to the Christ, made their one aim in life the quest of another husband.⁴ Paul realized the urgent necessity of putting a stop to these disorders; this he did by laying down strict rules concerning the selection of Deaconesses. Only on condition that she had been joined in wedlock but once, and that she had reached sixty years

¹ 1 Cor. xi. 5; xiv. 34, 35.

² Rom. xvi. 1.

³ Kraus, *Real-Encyclopädie der christlichen Alterthümer*, DIAKONISSEN.

⁴ 1 Tim. v. 11-15.

of age, could any widow become a member of this order; most of all was it requisite that she possess good and sufficient testimony to the virtuousness of her life, having brought up her children well, exercised hospitality, washed the feet of the Saints, given aid to the afflicted, and in a word, devoted herself to every sort of good works.¹ Nor are their obligations to be confined to these charitable offices; in return for the responsibility assumed by their brethren to provide for their wants, Paul bids them keep vigil for all in prayer,² becoming, to borrow a figure employed by St. Polycarp, "God's Altar,"³ whereon "night and day"⁴ is offered unto the Lord the "sacrifice of prayer, the fruit of the lips which give glory unto His Name."⁵ Thus the whole list of duties which nowadays are divided among the Active and Contemplative Orders of the Church, were then intrusted to the Deaconesses alone. Paul made them the model for the religious life. Under the divers forms in which this life is clothed in our times, all that is essential to the Apostolical institution still remains, with the exception of a few details which were aimed at passing irregularities. The advanced age, for instance, was not a condition intended to be permanent; accordingly we find that it fell into desuetude, — gradually, however, and in the course of centuries;⁶ so sacred did men hold the slightest directions coming from the Apostles!⁷

The reform of the Hierarchy in the manner devised by Saint Paul, the details of which we have just been studying, was not the work of a day. Great caution and prudence were requisite to substitute quietly a definitive order in place of their acquired rights. The Apostle was given

¹ 1 Tim. v. 7-10.

² Ibid., v. 5.

³ Θυσιαστήριον θεοῦ. St. Polycarp, *Epist. ad Philip.*, iv.

⁴ 1 Tim. v. 5.

⁵ Hebr. xiii. 15.

⁶ Tertullian, *De velandis virginibus*, ix.; S. Basil, *Epist.*, 199, xxiv.; *Concil. Chalcedon.*, xv.

⁷ Here it is taken for granted that both the deaconesses and widows belong to one and the same body of holy women consecrated to the service of the Church. There is nothing in the Apostolical times to authorize us in regarding these two names as referring to two distinct Hierarchical orders, and it would seem difficult to prove that it was otherwise in the centuries immediately following.

no leisure for such patient labors; his anxieties concerning the Christians of Macedonia, and their appeals, perhaps, as well, were hastening his departure. He made up his mind, here in Asia Minor as well as in Crete, to intrust the mission of completing his work to some one of those in his company, and his choice fell upon Timothy; not without some hesitation, seemingly, for Paul tenderly loved this disciple of his. Would not this new burden which he was about to lay upon his shoulders prove too heavy and crushing for his delicate health?¹ Did not his character, as loving as it was lovable, yet retiring and diffident withal, little fit him for the struggle ahead?² Young as he was in age, youthful, too, in soul and ideas,³ would Timothy inspire respect in the eyes of priests older than himself, whom he was charged to command, to guide, to rule in temporal matters, and even to judge, should the necessity arise?⁴ Would he be obeyed by those Deaconesses whose number he must needs reduce, and substitute strict discipline for their free and easy ways?

And who was to sustain him in his warfare against the heretics? Paul could still reckon upon the co-operation of many friends in Ephesus, among whom Onesiphorus and his family are especially mentioned by him at this date.⁵ His influence, however, had largely suffered, and from the mournful impressions left on his mind by his struggles with the sectaries, we gather that their audacity, their persistency, and their subtilty in an argument appeared to him the danger to be dreaded most of all. But would Timothy, even when sustained by these brethren who had remained faithful, have the vigor needful when brought face to face with the rebels, and resist them by taking his stand simply and firmly on the "sound doctrine according

¹ 1 Tim. v. 23.

² 2 Tim. i. 7, 8; ii. 3, 22.

³ 1 Tim. iv. 12. As Timothy was quite young at the time of St. Paul's first mission (in 51), he may have been thirty-five or thirty-six years old when the Apostle wrote this letter to him. He had not, therefore, arrived at that mature age which seemed requisite for the weighty and difficult functions confided to him; hence those words of St. Paul, "Let none condemn thy youth." 1 Tim. iv. 12. "Flee from the passions of young people." 2 Tim. ii. 22.

⁴ 1 Tim. v. 17-22.

⁵ 2 Tim. i. 16.

to the Gospel,"¹ without allowing himself to become involved in the interminable quibblings which was their forte? In such discussions, foolish and unavailing as they were, Timothy in such an unwonted position would be only too likely to run to extremes, and to reply with too great severity,² on occasions when all that the situation required was to confront them with God's truth boldly and unashamed.

Certainly these were reasons enough to justify the Apostle's apprehension, and yet in the end he yielded to the perfect confidence which he had ever placed in Timothy. He knew his "unfeigned faith,"³ enlightened from childhood by study of the Holy Scriptures.⁴ On the other hand, he was not lacking in experience so far as Apostolical labors were concerned, since for fourteen years he had worked side by side with his master, and had always succeeded in accomplishing whatever missions the Apostle had confided to him. Accordingly Paul intrusted him with the task of restoring the Church of Ephesus to its former condition, a heavy task, indeed, and one which he undertook with a full understanding both of the difficulties involved in it, but most of all what the parting with his master meant to him. Even when bidding him farewell, Paul noted that the tears stood in his disciple's eyes.⁵ With comforting words he heartened up this "beloved son,"⁶ bade him rely upon the grace of God, then, after having bidden adieu to the town, pursued his usual route northward along the coast of the Troad.

Doubtless before leaving Ephesus Paul had put his disciple on his guard against the perils which he most dreaded, and yet none the less was his mind filled with anxiety in regard to the outcome of the struggle. For some fears he must have felt lest Timothy, when brought under the enemy's fire, should forget his commander's warnings. So then, while in Macedonia,⁷ he resolved to put them in

¹ 1 Tim. i. 11; iv. 6; vi. 3.

² Ibid., v. 1.

³ 2 Tim. i. 5.

⁴ Ibid., iii. 15.

⁵ Ibid., i. 4.

⁶ Ibid., i. 2.

⁷ 1 Tim. i. 3.

writing, and addressed a letter to him which has ever been treasured up by the Church, and has become, as it were, a manual of the Pastoral Ministry. When writing it, Paul assuredly had no idea of lending such importance to this missive; he is simply conversing with his disciple familiarly and with perfect freedom; in fact, it would be labor lost to try to evolve any course of reasoning or any animating thought from this short letter as from the greater Epistles. We must needs examine his ideas one by one, just as they occurred to the mind of the author. Naturally, his first thought was directed to those preachers of falsehoods whose stilted verbiage still echoed in his ears. He urges Timothy to follow his own example and despise the vain babblings of teachers who do not even understand themselves;¹ let him beware of so much as an attempt at refuting their fables and the "endless genealogies"² presented by these false teachers as the authentic interpretation and fruit of the Law. The true accomplishment and perfection of these Divine Commandments is to be found by the disciples of Christ in the "love proceeding from a pure heart, good conscience, and unfeigned faith."³ The Law serves only to lead the impious and sinful to the gates of these supernatural heights; thither it had conducted Paul, who was a "blasphemer, a persecutor, and injurious," in order that in him "the grace of the Lord should be made exceeding abundant with the Faith and Love which is in Christ Jesus."⁴ The story of his own conversion had always been Paul's favorite argument to silence his opponents. "Behold what Jesus has made of me," he repeated again and again. Nor could Timothy, "in the good fight"⁵ he was to sustain, find any better plan of action than to confront the insidious tactics of heresy with the plain words of the Gospel, thereby proving its ability, in the past, present, and for all time, to inculcate all wisdom and virtue.

Rumors of the revolution at Jerusalem were then rife

¹ 1 Tim. i. 7.

² Ibid., i. 4.

³ Ibid., i. 5.

⁴ Ibid., i. 9-14.

⁵ Ibid., vi. 12.

throughout the Empire. It is more than likely that the false teachers at Ephesus relied upon them to foment new troubles and urge their hearers to shake off their yoke; for Paul concludes his warnings against the sectaries with a very characteristic exhortation. Timothy should see to it that the usual prayers for the Emperor and the magistrates be said regularly in all Christian sanctuaries, that thus the Church, at peace with Rome, might continue "to lead a quiet and tranquil life in all godliness and honesty."¹

No less insistently did the Apostle recommend the keeping of good order in all other parts of the Divine service. In this respect the Christian women of Asia, like those of Corinth, were only too prone to take great liberties; they attended God's house for the sake of exhibiting their apparel, which was most unseemly in disciples of the Christ, their long braids, heavy with gold and precious stones, — and rivalling each other in the sumptuousness of their raiment.² Paul bids him recall them to their sense of duty, and sharply too. "Let them be silent, with all subjection, when they are instructed. But I suffer not a woman to teach or to usurp authority over her husband; she must keep silence, for Adam was formed first, then Eve; and it was not Adam who was seduced, but the woman, who, by allowing herself to be seduced, committed the transgression. Her salvation shall be in the children which she shall bring into the world, if she bring them up in faith and charity and holiness and a well-ordered life."³

The duty of maintaining this orderliness in the Christian communities, both in the family circle and in religious gatherings, belonged to the spiritual heads of the brotherhood. Everything must depend upon them, on their unity of spirit, their zeal, and their success in governing. Hence Paul's unremittent anxiety to make this body of Pastors still more fruitful and vigorous in their ministry. Although, before his departure, he had taken the initial steps toward a reform in the Hierarchy, he would not miss

¹ 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

² Ibid., ii. 9.

³ Ibid., ii. 11-15.

the opportunity offered him by this letter to Timothy to map out its broader lines,¹ and to insist upon certain points rendered more urgent by the crisis they were passing through: — not to lay hands suddenly on any one,² and to assure to the ministers of the Word a fitting live lihood;³ not to entertain an accusation against them, save on the oath of two or three witnesses, nor yet to fail in rebuking them publicly if they were really guilty.⁴ By thus seasoning his firmness with circumspection Timothy would be constituting and maintaining everywhere the authority of a Church which is the “Assembly of the living God, the pillar and groundwork of the Truth;”⁵ the mystic abode wherein is accomplished “the great mystery of godliness” of the Christian life, —

“Manifested in the flesh,
Justified by the Spirit,
Contemplated by the Angels,
Preached unto the Nations,
Believed on in the World,
Received up into Glory.”⁶

As we have seen in the Epistles to the Colossians⁷ and to the Ephesians,⁸ the constitution of the Christian family engrossed the attention of the Apostle quite as much as did that of the Hierarchy. He returns to this subject in his letter to Timothy, and explains to him at length his duties in the matter. The aged and the youthful, young women and old, widows, slaves, no class is omitted in his study of the social fabric. Paul is careful to see that the Christian life circulates through all the smallest arteries.⁹

¹ 1 Tim. iii. 1–13.

⁴ Ibid., v. 19, 20.

² Ibid., v. 22.

⁵ Ibid., iii. 15.

³ Ibid., v. 17, 18.

⁶ The symmetrical arrangement and rhythmical cadence of these phrases justify us in supposing that this was one of those spiritual canticles which the early Christians had composed and were accustomed to chant unto the Lord, whether in their private reunions or at the liturgical gatherings. Ephes. v. 19; Coloss. iii. 16. As to these hymns, see *St. Paul and his Missions*, chap. viii.

⁷ Coloss. iii. 18–22; iv. 1.

⁸ Ephes. v. 22–28; vi. 1–9.

⁹ “Rebuke not an aged man sternly, but warn him as thou wouldst a

Nevertheless, the ruling thought of this Epistle is is ever his dread of heresy. He returns to it at every opportunity, to put his disciple on his guard against these apostates and the absurd or immoral consequences of their teaching. They are indeed, he tells him, "impertinent follies, old wives' tales . . . diabolical doctrines taught by hypocritical impostors, whose consciences are blackened with crime.¹ They go so far in their madness as to put under the ban marriage and the use of flesh meats, which God created to be accepted with thanksgiving by the faithful and by those who have received a knowledge of the truth. Now, every creature of God is good, and nothing which is eaten with thankfulness should be disdained, for it is sanctified by the Word of God and prayer."²

Was not Timothy himself, perhaps, a little prone to this ostentation of austerity? Or was it simply to be put down to his frugal manner of life, that he never drank anything but water? With affectionate condescension Paul gives utterance to his fears, and descends to this bit of warning: "Drink a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities."³ But, in the main, corporal practices have little value in the Apostle's eyes. Godli-

father; treat young men as brothers, the aged women as mothers, the younger as sisters, in all purity. Honor the widows that are widows indeed. But if any widow has children or grandchildren, let them learn first to show their godliness towards their own household, and to requite those from whom they are descended for the care they have received from them, for this is acceptable unto God. Let the widow who is really widowed and friendless set her hopes in God and persevere day and night in prayer and supplication. As for her who lives in pleasure, she is dead though she seem to live. . . . I much prefer that the younger marry, bear children, rule their household, and give no occasion to the enemies of our religion to reproach us; for some there are who have already gone astray after Satan. If there be any believer who has widows that are akin to him, let him relieve them and let not the Church be burdened with them, that it may support those that are widows indeed. . . . Let as many slaves as are under the yoke esteem their own masters worthy of all honor, lest the name of God and His Doctrine be blasphemed; let those whose masters are believers not despise them because they are brethren, but serve them with the more subjection, because those who benefit by their good services are believing and beloved." 1 Tim. v. 1-16, 14-16; vi. 1, 2.

¹ 1 Tim. iv. 7, 1, 2.

² Ibid., iv. 3-5.

³ Ibid., v. 23.

ness is the one thing needful. It is useful for all,¹ and even in this life of ours is equivalent to great wealth, since it teaches us to be content with what suffices for our needs.² "We brought nothing into this world; certain it is that we can carry nothing out. Having, therefore, food and wherewithal to cover us, let us be satisfied therewith."³ Paul insists strongly on this entire detachment, as necessary to the true Christian. "They that would be rich," he assures us, "fall . . . into useless and hurtful lusts, which drown men in ruin and perdition. For the love of money is a root of all evil."⁴

The final words of the Epistle sum up these various counsels in one general line of conduct: "O Timothy, keep the deposit which is committed to thy trust!"⁵ An attachment to Tradition, to the words of truth and life which the Apostles had received from Jesus and had transmitted to the Church, constitute the main duty of Pastors. For, once bound by the unity of Faith, they are "putting their trust in God, Who quickeneth unto life all things that live,"⁶ indissolubly attached to Him through the Christ, "the only Potentate, King of kings, Lord of lords, Who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto, . . . to Whom be honor and power everlasting."⁷

Twice in this Epistle the Apostle expresses so firm an intention of returning to Ephesus as soon as pos-

¹ 1 Tim. iv. 8. "It is the whole man," says Bossuet, *Oraison funèbre de Louis de Bourbon*.

² Tim. vi. 6.

³ *Ibid.*, vi. 7, 8.

⁴ 1 Tim. vi. 9, 10. This disentanglement from the pursuit of wealth seemed to him of such importance, in an opulent and luxurious town like Ephesus, that after the Doxology with which his Epistle would naturally terminate, he again takes up his pen to insist anew upon the spirit of poverty and generosity of heart as needful above all for the true Christian: "Charge those who are rich in this present world not to be haughty, nor to put their trust in uncertain riches, but in the God Who provides abundantly all things needful for our life; charge them to practise benevolence, to be rich in good works; let them be ready in giving, bountiful, storing up for themselves as their treasure a good foundation for the future, that they may lay hold on what is truly life." 1 Tim. vi. 17-19.

⁵ 1 Tim. vi. 20.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vi. 13.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vi. 15, 16.

sible,¹ that there is every reason to believe that he fulfilled his plan. So, then, for the last time, he set sail by the same route he had taken fifteen years earlier to conquer Macedonia and Greece to the cause of Christ, and passed over from Neapolis into Troas. In the latter city he tarried in the house of a Christian named Carpus; some fortuitous circumstance, however, perhaps a renewed persecution on the part of the Jews or Pagans, must have constrained him to depart in all haste, for he left with this disciple certain of his belongings of which he stood in need, and which he reclaimed when the opportunity presented itself, — his cloak, his books, and certain manuscripts which he valued highly.² Nothing is known to us of this second trip to Ephesus, but we may well imagine that he met Aquila and Priscilla, driven thither from Rome by the Persecutions.³ Paul had good reason to value these two helpers of his and drew renewed courage from the thought that they were to be with Timothy.

Miletus would seem to have been the farthest point on the coast of Asia which the Apostle visited. He had just embarked with the disciples who were to accompany him, when one of them, named Trophimus, took dangerously sick, and the Apostle was forced to leave him behind.⁴ Again, upon the Greek shore at Achaia, he was compelled to make another such sacrifice: a distinguished Christian of that country, Erastus by name, had joined his band and accompanied him thus far. But, once arrived in Corinth, he decided to remain there,⁵ probably by the advice of the Apostle. No one, indeed, could have been better fitted than was this disciple to defend and maintain the Faith in Achaia. The high social position which he held before his conversion,⁶ his knowledge of the Gospel,

¹ 1 Tim. iii. 14; iv. 13. The incidents mentioned in the second letter to Timothy (iv. 13, 20) seem to me to fit in naturally with this last journey around the archipelago.

² 2 Tim. iv. 13.

³ Ibid., iv. 19.

⁴ Ibid., iv. 20.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Rom. xvi. 23.

the experience he had acquired in Paul's company, the missions which he had undertaken in his name,¹ all these promised a bountiful harvest for the ministry of Erastus. Such considerations had always great weight with the Apostle, and accordingly he left his disciple at Corinth ; but regretfully, we may feel sure, for he had more than ever need of helpers in the mission work before him in Epirus. Consequently he decided to recall Titus, considering that his presence in Crete was no longer indispensable, and that another disciple, either Artemas or Tychicus, might fully as well complete his work. He was still hesitating between the two when he took up his pen to acquaint Titus with his intentions, and to prepare him for a speedy departure.²

We have this letter, which differs but slightly in its fundamental ideas from that which Paul had just written to Timothy ; the same rules are recalled as to the choice of Pastors,³ the same submissiveness recommended in regard to princes and magistrates,⁴ the same counsels as to the right ordering of Christian households. Let them conduct themselves irreproachably in the sight of the heathen. "Let the aged men be sober, grave, prudent, in faith, in charity, in patience." The aged women, likewise, "inspiring wisdom in their younger sisters ; teaching them to love their husbands and their children ; to be discreet, chaste, keepers at home ; good and obedient to their own husbands, that the Word of God be not blasphemed."⁵ Let slaves, too, prove by their conduct what the "grace of God Our Saviour, visible to all men,"⁶ can make of even a servile soul. In all obedience to their masters, "let them endeavor to please them well in all things ; neither contradicting them nor purloining from them their goods, but in everything displaying perfect fidelity."⁷

While dwelling upon these duties of a Christian life, Paul exhorts Titus to recommend them the more earnestly

¹ Acts xix. 22.

² Tit. iii. 12.

³ Tit. i. 5, 9.

⁴ Ibid., iii. 1.

⁵ Ibid., ii. 1-6.

⁶ Ibid., ii. 11.

⁷ Ibid., ii. 9, 10.

during the latter period of his sojourn in Crete. But so far as heresy was concerned, here, just as at Ephesus, he deemed any discussion with them superfluous, seeing that they were but a farrago "of foolish questions, genealogies, quarrelling, and disputes concerning the Law, all vain and fruitless."¹ In regard to the sectaries, it behooved him to make full use of his authority, to admonish them once or twice,² and if they were obstinate, put them without the pale of the Church. In this the Apostle was in no wise departing from the Evangelical Law of Charity, but was laying down a law for Pastors to follow with souls that sympathized secretly with error and allowed themselves to be misled by it.³ Their only hope of salvation was to snatch them bodily from the danger, and by main force rescue them from the yawning abyss which threatened to engulf them. Now, Titus must needs display this vigor; for the Cretans that had fallen away from the cause reverted instinctively to the vices of their race, thereby giving fresh proof that the picture painted of them by their fellow-countryman, Epimenides, was not exaggerated, for they are "obstinate liars, evil beasts, slow bellies."⁴ This is the testimony of one of themselves, of their own prophet,⁵ Paul tells his disciple, and it is unfortunately but too true. "Wherefore rebuke them sharply, that they may remain sound in the Faith, not giving heed to Jewish fables and the commandments of men which turn from the truth."⁶

There is every reason to believe that this letter was

¹ Tit. i. 10, 14; iii. 9.

² Ibid., iii. 10.

³ "Reject the sectarian . . . knowing that such a man is perverted; that he sins and thereby condemns himself." Tit. iii. 10, 11.

⁴ Tit. i. 12. Epimenides belonged to the heroic age of Greece, when all men agreed in recognizing in him something divine. *Ἀνὴρ θεῖος*, Plato, *De Leg.* Σόφρος περὶ τὰ θεῖα, Plutarch, *Sol.*, xii. Δεινὸς τὰ θεῖα, Maximus of Tyre, *Dissert.*, 22. At once a poet and a prophet, he has left one work upon the *Sacrifices*, another upon the *Oracles*. The words quoted by St. Paul are taken from the latter. (Callimachus, *Hymn ad Jov.*, viii.) Epimenides, born at Phœstus in Crete, lived to a ripe old age (157 years, according to Pliny, *Histor. Natur.* vii. 49), and died in that island, or, it may be in Sparta, where his tomb was pointed out.

⁵ Tit. i. 12.

⁶ Ibid., i. 13, 14.

written during 66, in autumn, or perhaps in the summer. For, though the Apostle bids Titus meet him at Nicopolis, where he expects to pass the winter,¹ he nevertheless recommends him, not merely to await the arrival of his successor,² but to send two other disciples in advance. These were Zenas, the lawyer, and Apollos, who were in the island.³ The stormy season, therefore, could not have been close at hand.

Paul's eagerness in gathering about him numerous and able fellow-workers is the best proof of the importance he attached to the mission he was to undertake, or, rather let us say, accomplish, in Epirus, since he had already preached the Gospel in those parts. We have seen how, during his third Apostolical journey, he had followed the Egnatian Road, and thus reached the Adriatic coast.⁴ This highway, which branches off at some distance from the sea (at Clodiana), ends at the two seaports of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium. The latter was the favorite point of embarkment for Brundisium and Italy. In all likelihood it was there that Paul located the centre of his Apostolate, thereby enabling him to spread the Glad Tidings throughout Illyria and perhaps even in Dalmatia.⁵

Nicopolis, which he selected as his residence, during his second mission, was entirely different from these maritime cities, but not less propitious for the propagation of the Gospel. It lay further to the south, and, as the capital of Epirus, preserved the importance given to it by its founder, Augustus.⁶ Its name, the "City of Victory,"⁷ recalled that naval combat which terminated the struggle between Antony and Octavius, and left the latter Master of the World. The site of the conqueror's encampment before entering into action was on the narrow isthmus which divides the bay of Actium from the Adriatic.⁸

¹ Tit. iii. 12.

³ Ibid., iii. 13.

² Ibid., iii. 12.

⁴ See *St. Paul and his Missions*, chap. xiii., p. 311 *et seq.*

⁵ Rom. xv. 19; 2 Tim. iv. 10.

⁶ Dion Cassius, li. 1; Strabo, vii. 7; Suetonius, *Octav.*, 18.

⁷ *Νικόπολις*.

⁸ Dion Cassius, l. 12.

Nicopolis stood as a memorial of this great event, but with other titles to glory besides that one triumph. As a free town, a Roman colony, and one represented in the Amphictyonic Council,¹ it rose at once to the dignity of a city of the first rank,² endowed with splendid monuments; for the foreign princes, hoping thereby to flatter the vanity of their Emperors, vied with each other in adorning it; while, more than all the rest, Herod the Great distinguished himself by his munificent gifts.³ Such large outlay of moneys naturally drew thither numerous settlers, and the town speedily grew in population as well as renown. The games celebrated on the Isthmus in honor of Apollo, hitherto of a modest character, now waxed in splendor, until they rivalled those of Olympia.⁴

What events marked the winter which Paul and his companions spent hereabouts? Of this we have no idea; we only know that about the beginning of the following year the Apostle was again a prisoner in Rome. It has been surmised that, upon being arrested in Nicopolis by the magistrates of the city, he appealed, as once before in Judea, to Cæsar, and succeeded in having his case referred to the Imperial tribunal. Others hold that Paul made Nicopolis the starting-point of his journey, of which the stopping-places are mentioned in his second letter to Timothy as having been Troas, Ephesus, and Miletus;⁵ and that it was at Ephesus that some new outbreak of persecution claimed him as its victim. There is a tower still pointed out amid the ruins of that city and called the Prison of St. Paul; this, they hold, was the place where the Apostle was detained while awaiting his transportation to Rome.

These various suppositions, however, deserve scanty notice at the hands of the historian, while the testimony gathered by Eusebius is far more credible. Therein Dio-

¹ Pliny, *Hist. natur.*, iv. 2; Tacitus, *Annal.*, v. 10; Pausanias, x. 8.

² Strabo, vii. 7.

³ Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, xvi. v. 3.

⁴ Strabo, vii. 7; Suetonius, *Octav.*, xviii.

⁵ 2 Tim. iv. 13, 20.

nysius, one of the first Bishops of Corinth, speaks of Peter and Paul as having met in that city to publish the Glad Tidings for the last time there, and thence "together departing for Italy, there terminating their Apostolate together by martyrdom."¹ Vague as these words are, they faithfully report the tradition of the Church at Corinth in the second century. Now, there is nothing to indicate that Paul was arrested in Greece and carried a prisoner to Corinth. On the contrary, it would appear that he went there of his own free will, on leaving Nicopolis, in order to meet the Prince of the Apostles, and resume his journey Romewards in his company. This was, in all likelihood, in the spring of the year 67. Peter and Paul had but a few more months to live.

¹ St. Dionysius of Corinth, quoted by Eusebius, *Histor. Eccles.*, ii. 25.

CHAPTER XII.

THE DEATH OF SAINT PETER AND SAINT PAUL.

THE Rome which Paul beheld on his return bore but little resemblance to the city he had left three years before on his departure for Spain. Two-thirds of the town, that portion regarded as the very soul of its ancient glory, had disappeared in the flames,¹ and a new city had been erected upon its ashes. The buildings of regular proportions, built of stone taken from Alban or from Gabii, the broad and regular streets bordered with arcades, these in no way recalled the old town with its crooked lanes, and time-stained dwellings of ungainly height.² People came from all parts of the Empire to admire the "Golden House," renowned far and wide.³ It had needed all the prodigality of a despot and a madman to accomplish such marvels in so short a time.

Indeed, Nero had spared nothing, making the removal of the ruins and the construction of the porches his own affair, while at the same time richly rewarding any citizen according to the speed with which the owner set about rebuilding, after plans laid down by him.⁴ To meet these extraordinary expenses, the provinces had been plundered and even the treasures of their temples ransacked.⁵ But it was Piso's conspiracy which enabled him to replenish his empty pockets from that of Rome itself. As capital punishment carried with it confiscation of property,⁶ all that was necessary to enable him to lay hands upon great fortunes was to pass sentence of death upon their owners.

¹ Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 40, 41.

² See Friedlander, *Mœurs romaines*, vol. i., LA VILLE.

³ Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv. 42, 43.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xv. 45.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Annal.*, xv. 43.

⁶ Daremberg, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, CONFISCATIO.

Now, there was no lack of pretext for such accusations in a period when Thræsea's austere morality alone was adjudged to be an act of conspiracy by the Senate, and brought about his death.¹ Supported by this obsequious body, Nero needed only to stimulate the activity of his informers by giving them a handsome share in the spoils of their victims. The two accusers of Thræsea, for instance, received from him five million sesterces (about \$225,000) apiece; that of Soranus, twelve hundred thousand (about \$54,000) together with the quæstorship.² All men were taken stock of and Rome was filled with spies, a terror to the nobility and wealthy. Fear spread abroad in the land as in the worst days of Tiberius.³ Nor was it wealth alone they attacked. No singularity in religious practices, no superiority in moral conduct, could escape their eyes, but everything they did was travestied into senseless rebellion, into an attack upon the worship of Rome and its Emperor, in a word, into the crime of *lèse-majesté*. This last count against the accused was of all the most needful to his indictment, since every case successful in this regard was worth some pecuniary remuneration to the informer.⁴

We may easily imagine what dangers were incurred by the Apostles in a city burdened by such tyranny.

¹ Tacitus, *Annal.*, xvi., 23-35. "Trucidatis tot insignibus viris, ad postremum Nero virtutem ipsam excindere concupivit, interfecto Thræsea Pæto et Barea Sorano."

² Tacitus, *Annal.*, xvi. 33.

³ The Delation, in the criminal procedure, bore with it no stigma of disgrace. It was the act of any citizen who brought to the knowledge of justice some crime or misdemeanor, indicating at the same time its nature and its author, — the so-called "*nominis delatio*." But this practice, though quite explicable and even justifiable in the beginning, on account of the lack of any public bureaux of information among the Romans, led to intolerable abuses. It is well known what extremities they went to under Tiberius: "Never has there reigned in Rome such a state of consternation and terror. Men tremble in the presence of their nearest kinsfolk; they dare neither accost one another nor hold converse; known or unknown, every hearer is suspected. Even dumb and inanimate things inspire misgivings. Uneasy glances search the very walls and ceilings." Tacitus, *Annal.* iv. 69.

⁴ Tacitus, *Annal.*, iv. 30.

Paul, especially, could not linger long unknown there. For two whole years his name had been in every one's mouth, not only in the Prætorian Camp, but in Nero's court as well,¹ and he was not the man either to deny his identity or to keep silence. Far from keeping the Word of God in bonds,² he preached boldly as ever had been his wont, thus making himself an easy prey for informers, and was speedily arrested by the municipal magistracy.

This second imprisonment was not accompanied by any of those kindly manifestations which had lightened his previous experience. It will be remembered that then the captive was allowed to lodge with his jailer wherever he saw fit, and had permission to receive his disciples and strangers in the house which he had rented, as well as to preach to all comers. This time he was incarcerated from the very first. Onesiphorus, who had arrived from Ephesus in the meanwhile, found great difficulty in discovering in what prison he was confined.³ None of his disciples nor any of the Christians of Rome aided him in his search. Had they, then, forsaken the Apostle so entirely as not to know even the locality where he was kept confined? As regards his converts of Asiatic origin, there is not the slightest doubt that they did desert him thus. "All they that are from Asia have turned away from me," says the Apostle; "Phygellus and Hermogenes are of this number."⁴ Evidently Paul counted especially upon these two Christians; their defection was therefore the bitterer to him.

Far more illustrious disciples were with their master on his arrival in Rome: Titus, Luke, Tychicus, Crescens, and Demas.⁵ The latter alone is branded by him in his abandonment: "Demas has forsaken me, having loved this present world, and is departed unto Thessalonica."⁶ The Apostle simply mentions the departure of the others without a word of blame added, and we should hesitate to

¹ Philip. i. 13; iv. 22.

² 2 Tim. ii. 9.

³ Γενόμενος ἐν Ῥώμῃ, σπουδαίως ἐζητεσέ με καὶ εὔρε. 2 Tim. i. 17.

⁴ 2 Tim. i. 15.

⁵ Ibid., iv. 9.

⁶ 2 Tim. iv. 9-12.

believe them capable of such cowardice. Then what are we to infer? Only this, that Paul before his imprisonment had deputed them to visit various Churches: Crescens was sent to Galatia,¹ Titus into Dalmatia, Tychicus to Ephesus,² while Luke, whom we shall soon find once more with him,³ had received some less distant mission. To all appearances Onesiphorus alone remained to succor and visit the captive; this he did with so much devotion that Paul was greatly moved by his willingness to risk all for his sake, and took the first opportunity of expressing his gratitude. "Often has he consoled me," he writes to Timothy, "nor was he ashamed of my chains."⁴ To this token of his gratitude the Apostle adds the following invocation: "May the Lord grant unto him mercy in that Day!"⁵ What did he mean by "that Day"? The Day of Eternity, in all likelihood, which dawned on Onesiphorus during Paul's captivity, and even ere he had appeared before his judges; since this Apostle declares that he faced their tribunal absolutely alone and forsaken by all.⁶

And, nevertheless, he had never stood more in need of the good offices of some tried friend; for up to that time he had never been confronted with judges more prejudiced against him, and for that reason more to be dreaded by him. This was no longer a period when the magistrates of the Empire rivalled each other in dispensing justice

¹ *Εἰς Γαλατίαν* (2 Tim. iv. 10) is the reading authorized by the Vulgate and the greater number of MSS. Some of the latter, however, the Sinaitic Codex and that of Ephrem, and the MSS. in cursive letters 73, 80, 123, give the variant *εἰς Γαλλίαν*, "in Gaul," which is probably merely the interpretation given by the Greek Church to Paul's text (Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, iii., iv.; St. Epiphanius, *Hæres.*, li. ii. 11; Theodore, *in loc.*, etc.). "It is hard to dispute the fact," says Tillemont, "that there was a tradition commonly received throughout the East that Crescens had preached in Gaul." *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique*, vol. i., note lxxxi., on St. Paul. Both statements may be reconciled by dating the preaching of Crescens in Gaul after the fulfilment of the mission which Paul had intrusted him with in Galatia.

² 2 Tim. iv. 10-12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 16.

³ *Ibid.*, iv. 11.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 18.

⁶ "The first time that I defended my case, no one stood by me, but all forsook me." 2 Tim. iv. 16.

with impartiality, as in the days when Gallio, Felix, and Festus laid hands upon him solely with the idea of saving him from the fury of the mob. Nor was it even like that time, still recent, when, as he appeared before the Prefect of the Prætorium, he could feel that he was protected by the favorable reports of the Governor of Judea and of the centurion who had brought him to Rome. The burning of the city had dried up the very springs of equity, so far as the Christians were concerned; even their sufferings, more calculated to inspire dread than pity, had not entirely destroyed the evil effect of the calumnies against them; the populace, the police, and the courts still looked upon them as suspicious personages. Paul, being well known as one of the principal leaders of their sect, was doomed to experience the full effects of this change in popular feeling. We have seen that his captivity was rendered thereby the stricter, and his condemnation in no wise belied the rest in harshness.

Who were the magistrates called upon to pass sentence on the Apostle? The question is difficult to determine because we have no knowledge of the nature of the accusation against him. If the crime charged came under the jurisdiction of the common law, it would fall under the Permanent Commission (*Quæstiones Perpetuæ*). On the contrary, if it was listed under such cases as were reserved for the Senate, it had to be submitted to a court of law, selected from that great body.¹ Whichever tribunal it may have been, we know that neither the Emperor, who was absent at this juncture,² nor any of his more influential ministers conducted the proceedings. Indeed, Saint Clement of Rome would lead us to infer that the Apostle had to do with a mere assembly of magistrates.³ This would have been some security against despotism, but by no means an assurance of justice; for the prejudices

¹ Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, vol. ii., p. 111 *et seq.*; Willems, *Le Droit public romain*, p. 472, 473.

² He had left for Greece toward the end of the year 66. Dion Cassius, lxxiii. 8; Tillemont, *Histoire des empereurs*; NÉRON, art. xxv.

³ Ματρουήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων. St. Clement, *Ad. Corinth.*, v.

against the Christians were as rife among the lawyers as they were among the immediate companions of Nero himself. The New Faith, almost unknown to them a few years previously, had revealed itself during the persecution of 64 as an occult force, gifted with surprising energy; a seditious element which it behooved them to watch closely and suppress at the slightest sign of an uprising. 'T was therefore before judges prejudiced and ill-disposed that Paul must stand once more on his defence.

He found no one in that court ready to risk a word in his behalf, not an advocate, nor a single witness for the prisoner. Assuredly in Rome there was no lack of people who might have deposed in his favor and attested his innocence; but terror had frozen their courage. Remembering this, the Apostle, while realizing keenly the bitterness of their silence, besought God not to impute it against them.¹ Furthermore we know that they had not awaited the day of trial to forsake him. With the exception of Onesiphorus, they all, as we have just seen, had kept aloof from his prison cell, fearing lest they should be implicated in his troubles, which were rendered specially ominous on account of the unfortunate reputation of Christians in general, and the great fame of the accused.

But Paul, in his abandonment by men, was not left alone. He felt the assistance of that Spirit promised by the Master to all such as are haled before human tribunals.² Calm and collected as usual, he went forth from his prison cell and allowed himself to be conducted to one of those Basilicas where justice was administered; he traversed its long nave, at the extremity of which were ranged the magistrates, seated on a long tribune. On his way thither he had to pass through a dense throng of curiosity seekers. The Apostle, noting that here was such a mixture of races as Rome alone could afford, seized the occasion to proclaim once more the Gospel delivered unto all peoples, and thus, as it were by a few final words, crowned his life of preacher.³ By God's aid "Who strengthened

¹ 2 Tim. iv. 16.

² Luke xii. 11, 12.

³ "When I was first heard in my defence . . . the Lord assisted and

him," he gave utterance to the faith that was in him, enveloping the name of Christ with such glory that his accusers were left speechless. Nevertheless, they still growled about the heels of their prey, though for that one day, as Paul tells us, he "was saved from the jaws of the lion."¹

Some have thought that under this figure he referred to Nero; but they are wrong, since, as we have seen, the Emperor spent this year in Greece. The ministers to his ferocity, however, he had left behind him in Rome, — Tigellinus, doubly powerful as Prefect of the Prætorium,² and the Emperor's prime favorite, but especially the freed-man Helius, whom the tyrant had invested with full powers over Rome and the Senate.³ One of these creatures of the tyrant is, apparently, the "lion" spoken of by the Apostle, from whose claws he escaped at such great pains. Though not actually presiding over the judicial proceedings, these representatives of Nero were always at hand, ready, if need were, to intervene; that they did not go so far as to demand his immediate condemnation was due, we may believe, to the commotion excited by Paul's harangue, and to the clamorous approval shown him by the crowd. The case was adjourned, but the Apostle could not conceal from himself the fact that its renewal would follow at no late date, and would inevitably prove fatal to him. Thereafter he was far too renowned and too closely watched by his powerful foes to cherish any hope of escaping their clutches.⁴

The triumph of the accused did not go so far as to admit of his release under bail. Once more he entered his little cell, his gaze fixed heavenward, expecting nothing from this earth but the one last struggle for the Christ; yet well assured of bearing his share in the combat valiantly. This

strengthened me that I might complete the preaching of the Gospel, and that all the nations might hear it." 2 Tim. iv. 16, 17.

¹ Ibid.

² Hirschfeld, *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der Römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, vol. i., p. 221.

³ Dion Cassius, lxxiii. 18.

⁴ 2 Tim. iv. 6.

aid which he received from God in his first meeting with the enemy, had swept away every apprehension, all uncertainty. "He shall deliver me from every evil deed," he said, "and by saving me shall conduct me unto His Heavenly Kingdom, to Whom be glory, forever and ever."¹

Once more the days of weary waiting in his imprisonment loomed large before the Apostle, lightened this time, however, by the presence of Luke, who on his return to Rome had hastened to resume his place beside his master. Paul remarked sadly that of all the foreign Christians, this disciple alone remained faithful to him. From the bitterness of this complaint does it not seem evident that there were many such in the Capital of the Empire, — those whom he had known well and evangelized, either in Greece or in Asia, but whom personal fear kept aloof from him?² The Church of Rome, at least, is not to be accused of such cowardice; some of its most distinguished members assisted Luke in his ministrations to him. These were Eubulus, Pudens, of a senatorial family, according to ancient traditions,³ Claudia⁴ and Linus, who was to be Peter's successor on the Pontifical throne.⁵ Nor were they the only ones to evidence their eager affection. In the letter which he wrote Timothy during this imprisonment he greets him in the name of "all the brethren"⁶ who were with him. So far, then, it appears, he was much less strictly guarded after his first appearance in court, and was permitted to receive many Roman Christians who boldly visited him in his prison.

¹ 2 Tim. iv. 18.

³ See Chapter I., p. 15.

² Ibid., iv. 21.

⁴ Some would make Claudia the wife of Pudens, and regard them as the happy pair whose union Martial celebrates in one of his Epigrams: "Claudia, Rufe, meo nubit peregrina Pudenti." (Epigr., iv. 13.) Unfortunately, there are certain decisive objections which destroy this pretty conjecture; difficulties of chronology are insurmountable, while it is impossible to conceive how Martial, if he had a Christian friend, should address to him some of his coarsest epigrams. See Lightfoot, *St. Clement of Rome*, vol. i., pp. 76-79.

⁵ De Smedt, *Dissertationes selectæ*, pp. 305-312; Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. i., pp. lxxi-lxxiii, and p. 121.

⁶ 2 Tim. iv. 21.

This band of faithful disciples comforted the prisoner's last days, though without diverting his thoughts from the end, which now all realized was inevitable. In this solemn period of preparation, the longing in Paul's heart to see his best-beloved disciple again grew daily stronger. It was toward the middle of summer; there was still time for a letter to reach Ephesus and give Timothy opportunity to arrange everything in view of his absence, and reach Rome before winter set in.¹ Furthermore, he did not anticipate that his case would be reopened at an earlier date; the remembrance of the judicial delays during his former imprisonment warranted him in this belief. Accordingly, he resolved to write to Timothy and urge him to come to him.

This letter, one of the most touching of all the Apostle's writings, reveals him to us as he was in his prison on the eve of death. The fatigues of his laborious ministry had exhausted his body, never naturally robust; now about seventy years old, Paul was more than usually susceptible to the infirmities of age. This is betrayed even in his language, which no longer has the hardihood and impetuosity which animate the great Epistles; in the trend of his thoughts, now grown more moral and dogmatic; and in his fondness for recalling the past, — those first adventures of his outside of Judea, the pious mothers, Lois and Eunice, whom he had first met in Lycaonia nourishing their son Timothy with the heavenly food of Scripture, inspiring him with so lively a faith that his soul opened, as it were, of itself to receive the Christ.² The Apostle yearns to revive in his "dearly beloved son"³ the fervor of those early days, that fire of Divine Grace which burned within him when he first laid his hands upon him.⁴ Even the

¹ This period would seem to be determined by the death of Paul, which tradition has fixed as occurring on the 29th of June, and by the Apostle's recommendations as well: "Do thy utmost to come to me speedily. . . . Hasten to come before winter." (2 Tim. iv. 8, 21.) The last sentence especially goes to show that Timothy had but just time to put everything in order at Ephesus before the advent of the stormy season would close the sea routes.

² 2 Tim. i. 5.

³ Ibid., i. 2.

⁴ Ibid., i. 6.

Apostolate which he sets before him as his model is his own first mission in Pagan lands: "Thou hast fully known my teaching, my manner of life, my purpose, my faith, forbearance, love, patience, persecution, my sufferings at Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra, what persecutions I endured then; out of all of them the Lord delivered me."¹

Yet, though Paul, weighed down with the burden of years and labors, has eyes but for the course now nearly run, and though now no new thoughts absorb his mind and suggest new teachings, nevertheless his heart is still the same, his energy still unconquerable. This he himself declares boldly in his last letter: "God has not given us the spirit of cowardice, but a power of love and of counsel."² Tidings lately received from Asia had doubtless made him fear lest Timothy, naturally gentle and timid, should not govern with a firm enough hand, lest he should lean too much toward caution and compromise, to eluding and disarming persecution rather than confronting it manfully. Paul reminds his disciple that the Christian's first duty is to fight and suffer for the Christ. "Be not now, therefore, ashamed to confess Our Lord; neither be ashamed of me, His prisoner, but be thou partakers of the affliction of the Gospel, strong in the Almighty power of God, which worketh in us."³ 'Tis this Gospel "whereunto I have been appointed preacher and Apostle and a teacher of the nations; for the which cause I also suffer all these things. Nevertheless, I am not ashamed thereof, for I know Whom I have believed, and I am persuaded that He is able to keep for me that which I have

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 11.

² Ibid., i. 7. *Σωφρονισμοῦ*, which I have here rendered by the vague word "counsel," signifies the gift of moulding and tempering souls.

³ Paul in developing this sentence sums up his whole teaching concerning the absolute gratuitousness of Salvation. "Suffer with me," he says to Timothy, "according to the power of God who has saved us and called us with a holy calling, not according to our works, but according to the decree of His will, and according to His own Grace, which was bestowed on us in the Christ Jesus before all ages, but is now made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, Who has destroyed death, and by His Gospel has made life and immortality to shine." 2 Tim. i. 8, 10.

committed unto Him against that day of His Eternal Kingdom.”¹

“Thou, therefore, my son, be strong in the grace that is in the Christ Jesus . . . take thy share in afflictions as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. No man that embraceth the career of arms entangleth himself with worldly affairs; he thinketh rather only on how he may satisfy him who hath enrolled him; in like manner he who runneth in the arena is not crowned except he strive lawfully; the husbandman first toileth and thereafter partaketh of the fruits. . . . Remember that Jesus Christ was raised from the dead. . . . I suffer much for the Gospel, even unto bonds as an evil-doer. Nevertheless, the word of God is not bound. Therefore I endure all things for love of the elect, that they also may obtain the salvation which is in the Christ Jesus with glory everlasting; for faithful is this saying:—

‘If we die with Him, with Him we shall live;
If we suffer with Him, with Him shall we reign;
If we deny Him, He also will deny us;
If we be faithless, yet He abideth faithful;
For He cannot deny Himself.’”²

The foes whom the Apostle adjures his disciple so urgently to be on his guard against, are the same heretics he had singled out in his preceding letters. Like a pestilential spot their preaching continued to spread,³ and still threatened more and more to poison the whole body. Paul denounces by name the most dangerous babblers, Hymenæus and Philetus.⁴ He reminds him of the dangerous tendency of their interminable discourses, as being nothing less than to deprive the dogmas of Christian Faith of all consistency by turning them into allegorical fables, pure

¹ The following greeting addressed to the Thessalonians would seem to indicate what that deposit was which Paul has here in mind, and which he confides to the hand of the Lord: “Let all that is within you, spirit, soul, and body, be preserved spotless unto the coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Faithful is He Who has called you, and He will fulfil this in you.” 1 Thess. v. 23, 24.

² Concerning these rhythmical phrases, see what has been said in the preceding chapter, p. 220.

³ 2 Tim. ii., 17.

⁴ Ibid.

myths.¹ Why talk of a Resurrection to come? they said. The Resurrection is already accomplished;² it takes place daily in every man who awakens from the slumber of ignorance and is raised up unto the truth. This one error is singled out among the false doctrines of these sectaries, doubtless because, having taken wider hold upon the popular mind, it must needs be combated in a special manner.

Paul, however, persisted in his belief that in most instances it was time thrown away to dispute with the heretics at any great length. Nay, it was to make one's self their dupe if a man allowed himself to be entangled in the maze of their perfidious circumlocution by beginning to debate with them "in words which in no wise profit but rather pervert the hearers."³ The one thing needful was to confront them with the truth in its simplicity; then, if they still obstinately shut their eyes, let them be avoided like a pestilence. For thereafter it was to be feared that their blindness was not one of the mind, but of the heart; and the mists which obscured their intelligence and robbed them of the light of faith arose from this sink of iniquity. Such would be the causes of the universal corruption which would herald the end of the world. God's Holy Spirit unveiled to Paul's gaze the horrors of those last days, without, however, revealing to him whether they were near or far off. The Apostle sketches the larger outline of this picture for the benefit of his disciple. Were they themselves really to behold these awful events? This he knew not; but what that Antichrist was to be like when appearing in his full panoply of evil, this Paul could glimpse from the enemies of Jesus, among whom Timothy now was. Making no distinction of persons, he depicts them all as bearing the same features: "selfish, covetous, boasters, haughty, blasphemous, disobedient to their parents, ungrateful, unholy, without natural affection, ruthless, calumniators, incontinent, cruel, haters of

¹ Βεβήλους κενοφωνίας . . . μωρὰς καὶ ἀπαιδεύτους ζητήσεις . . . τοὺς μύθους. "Idle and profane speeches . . . foolish and impertinent disputations . . . mere fables." 2 Tim. ii. 16-23; iv. 4.

² 2 Tim. ii. 18.

³ Ibid., ii. 14.

the good, treacherous, insolent, puffed up with pride, loving pleasure more than God, having an outward form of godliness, but destroying its truth and power.”¹ “Avoid them,” Paul adds; they are of that number whom thou seest “creeping into houses, taking captive sin-laden women, led away by lusts of all kinds, which they are perpetually learning, yet never coming to a knowledge of the truth. Now as Jannes and Jambres² resisted Moses, so do these men resist the truth; they are corrupt in mind, perverted in faith; but they shall not advance farther, for their folly shall be made openly manifest to all, as was that of these magicians of old.”³

Evidently Paul has here in view only those heresiarchs who persisted stubbornly in their errors. For should but a spark of life still exist in those souls who “resist the Truth,”⁴ the Apostle bids Timothy, far from avoiding them, “teach them with all kindness, in hope that God may grant them repentance and release them from the snares of the Devil who holds them captive.”⁵

These various counsels go to make up the Second Epistle to Timothy, — a letter most intimate in its character, wherein the aforetime teacher like a father now unbosoms himself to his “dearly beloved son.”⁶ A feeling of apprehension constantly pervades it, a dread of having laid too heavy a burden on the shoulders of the disciple whom he loved best of all. In his tenderness Paul can never ac-

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 2-5.

² The Latin versions and the Codex Augiensis (F) adopt the reading *Ἰαμβρῆς* instead of *Μαμβρῆς*. These are the names which the Jews gave those magicians who in Pharaoh's presence rivalled Moses in the performance of miracles, but finally acknowledged themselves vanquished. (Exod. vii. 9-12, 22; viii. 7, 18, 19; ix. 11. The Targum of Jonathan, on Exodus, vi. 11, on Numbers, xxii. 22.) According to these traditions Jannes and Jambres, sons of Balaam, drew down upon Israel one misfortune after another by their teachings and evil counsels. They perished in the passage of the Red Sea, according to some, — according to others, during the turmoil which ensued upon the setting up of the Golden Calf, built by their orders. See Schöttgen, *Horæ Hebraicæ*, in loco. Needless to add it is not from the Holy Books, but from the Jewish traditions, that the Apostle borrows these two names.

³ 2 Tim. iii. 5-9.

⁴ Ibid., ii. 25.

⁵ Ibid., ii. 25, 26.

⁶ Ibid. i. 2.

custom himself to look upon or treat Timothy otherwise than as he had known and loved him in the early days; youthful of soul and of heart,¹ and for this reason less fitted for the combat than he could have wished. By day and by night he prays for him,² recalls his tears,³ longs only to see him once more at his side, and keeps up a good heart that "this hope"⁴ will be granted him, since his death, though ever foremost in his mind, did not however, appear to him so near as it was destined to be. As he expects to pass the winter in prison, he begs Timothy to bring with him the travelling cloak which he had left at Troas with Carpus.⁵ This heavy garment had stood him in good stead during his apostolical journeys, and he desires it as a protection from the cold and dampness of his cell, which was destined to be his last lodging-place here below.

He asked also for the books, the parchments especially, he had left in care of that disciple;⁶ for, despite the anxieties of the Apostolate, Paul remained the same man we saw long since at the feet of Gamaliel, ever eager for study. Even among the Pagans he was renowned for his scholarship. We have but to recall the words of Festus when the Apostle was haled before him: "Thy great learning hath made thee mad."⁷ What were the parchments that he set such store by? In all likelihood the long rolls whereon the Jews were wont to copy the Law, the Psalms, and the Prophets. To the Apostle's thinking no literature could be compared to this "for teaching, for convincing, for correcting, for righteous discipline, rendering the man of God perfect, ready and prepared for every good work."⁸ In the quiet of his prison he longed to meditate anew upon the inspired words, drawing from them new strength to suffer and die for his God.

The close of the letter shows us how Paul prepared him-

¹ Τὰς νεωτερικὰς ἐπιθυμίας φεῦγε. 2 Tim. ii. 22.

² 2 Tim. i. 3.

⁴ Ibid.,

³ Ibid., i. 4.

⁵ Ibid., iv. 13.

⁶ Τὰ βιβλία μάλιστα τὰς μεμβράνας. 2 Tim. iv. 13.

⁷ Acts xxvi. 24.

⁸ 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.

self for this supreme duty, with the same serene faith he had displayed ever since his conversion. The Christ had indeed overwhelmed him on the highway going up to Damascus, but only to possess him more entirely, more intimately, making him his "chosen instrument."¹ And when restoring him, had shown him his mission afar off,² the Pagan world he was to conquer, to turn them from darkness into light, from the power of Satan into the hands of God."³

With no thought of how immense was the work before him, a superhuman task, "a divine folly, in the world's eyes,"⁴ but undismayed, Paul had gone forth with full confidence in the Heavenly Vision and in the Christ Who had called him. For thirty years he had lived but for this Jesus to whom he had given himself without reserve. His Apostolate was not to be likened unto the race run by an athlete, but to a warfare valiantly carried on, or,⁵ rather, a slow sacrifice wherein ceaseless dangers, toil, anxiety, suffering, tears by day and by night, had drained his life's blood to the last drop.

But the hour was drawing ever nearer when this self-immolation was to be consummated. His first hearing before the court was but the libation poured over the victim destined to the slaughter.⁶ Upon the very altar of sacrifice he lifts up his heart in a supreme outburst of gratitude toward Him Who, while recompensing his gifts according to our merits, none the less remains ever the "Just Judge;"⁷ for the crown which Paul beheld prepared for him very rarely encircles the brow of a mere man; it was neither that of pity nor favor, it was the "Crown of Justice."⁸

And, of a truth, the unwavering fidelity of the Apostle

¹ Acts ix. 15. ² *Εἰς ἔθνη μακρὰν ἐξαποστελῶ σε.* Acts xxii. 21.

³ Acts xxvi. 17-18. ⁴ 1 Cor. i. 23, 25. ⁵ 2 Tim. iv. 7.

⁶ *Ἐγὼ ἤδη σπένδομαι.* 2 Tim. iv. 6. "As for me, I already serve as a libation, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. I look for naught save the crown of righteousness which the Lord, the Just Judge, shall give me in that Great Day."

⁷ 2 Tim. iv. 8.

⁸ *Ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος.* 2 Tim. iv. 8.

had merited it; for at that very moment, in perfect self-forgetfulness, he thought of Jesus only, urging Timothy, before his departure, to engage in a final and more vigorous onslaught upon the foes of their common Master:—

“I adjure thee, before God and Christ Jesus, Who will judge the living and the dead at His glorious Advent and at the setting up of His Kingdom, be urgent in season and out of season; convince, rebuke, exhort, in all forbearance and doctrine. There will come a time when men will no longer endure sound teaching. Moreover, in their itch to hear what tickles their fancy, they will heap up for themselves teachers fitted to their lust; turning away their ears from the truth, they will turn aside to fables. But do thou be sober in all things; endure affliction; do the work of an Evangelist; accomplish thy ministry in full measure.”¹

About the time when this letter was despatched to Ephesus, another Epistle, not destined to an individual, but to all the Churches of Asia, was sent from Rome by the Chief of the Apostles.² For a longer season than was given to Paul, Peter had enjoyed his liberty in the Capital, for doubtless the loving solicitude of his faithful subjects had kept his presence there concealed. From the same Churches to which he had addressed his first letter, he had received tidings of such grave import that he felt urgently impelled to write to them once more. It was the same heresy whose venomous character we have just been noting in the Epistle to Timothy that now alarmed the Head of the Church. Though deep rooted at Ephesus,

¹ 2 Tim. iv. 1-5.

² According to the report of tradition, St. Peter left to some one of his disciples the task of expressing his thoughts in writing, confining himself, as St. Paul did in his Epistle to the Hebrews, to furnishing them with main ideas, the arrangement and general trend of the work. “Hence it comes,” says St. Jerome (*ad Hed. Epist.* 120, 11), “that the two Epistles which bear his name differ widely in style and character, as well as in the arrangement of the words. These diversities show us that he changed his interpreters as circumstances required.” Was Sylvanus, chosen to carry the first letter, διὰ Σιλβανοῦ ἡμῖν . . . ἔγραφα (1 Peter v. 12), its editor as well? There is nothing to indicate this in the document itself, for the words just quoted may signify simply, Sylvanus bears you this message. See Cornely, *Introductio Specialis in Nov. Test. Libros*, sect. 222.

the plague was no less obstinately spreading among the other Christian communities of that region. In Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia, as well as in the province of Asia, the sectaries were displaying daily greater audacity in propagating their false doctrines, and that irruption of lewdness as well which was their sequel or their bait. Before his death Peter was desirous of sending a last word of encouragement to the believers who must needs defend themselves against this seduction.

He begins by reminding them of how they had obtained a knowledge of Jesus, "the precious gift of Faith."¹ Through this Faith the power of God rescues our souls from the corruption of the world, maintains within us a never-failing fountain of "life and godliness;"² or, to put it more plainly, thereby God Himself works within us, and we commune with Him; "we partake of the Divine Nature."³ It is the root of our supernatural life, is this Divine Faith; and from it are born, begotten one of another, all those virtues which sow and make to germinate within us a true knowledge of Jesus, — strength and vigor and well-doing,⁴ a keen insight to discern evil,⁵ complete mastery of one's self,⁶ forbearance, loving godliness, brotherly kindness, all together blossoming forth in that charity which completes and crowns the development of a Christian soul. Such are the fruits which ripen of themselves from its union with the Christ.

We bear witness to it, Peter concludes, not on the strength of "cunningly devised fables,"⁷ as do the heretics; we speak "as eye-witnesses of His Majesty;"⁸ for we were present when He received from God the Father honor and glory; when, from the cloud whence streamed the Effulgence of God, this Voice was heard: "Behold My beloved Son in Whom I have placed all my love! And we

¹ 2 Peter i. 1.

² Πάντα . . . τὰ πρὸς ζωὴν καὶ εὐσέβειαν. 2 Peter i. 3.

³ Γενέσθε θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως. 2 Peter i. 4.

⁴ Τὴν ἀρετὴν. Ibid., 5.

⁵ Τὴν γνώσιν. Ibid.

⁶ Τὴν ἐγκράτειαν. Ibid., 6.

⁷ Σεσοφισμένοις μύθοις. 2 Peter i. 16.

⁸ 2 Peter i. 16.

[Peter, James, and John], we heard this Voice come from Heaven, being with Him on the Holy Mount.”¹ This apparition, and the other manifestations of the Godhead in Jesus, verify the “great and precious promises”² of the Prophets foretelling the coming of a Divine Messiah, and they give a still more steadfast authority to those oracles of God.³ ’Tis “by this torch shining in the midst of our darkness”⁴ that it behooves them to enlighten themselves, for throughout the Scriptures “the saints of God speak to us under the impulse of the Holy Ghost.”⁵

Among the inspired books which the Apostle recommends to his believing hearers, the Epistles of Saint Paul are singled out in an especial manner. Peter realizes that they contain some things “hard to understand;” he is well aware that “certain unlearned and unstable minds wrest them, as they do the other Scriptures, and thereby work their own ruin.” None the less is his admiration for that depth of wisdom⁶ which can come from God alone; he desires that all should meditate upon the word “of a brother whom he cherishes” so exceedingly,⁷ but that in their meditations they be likewise on their guard against those sectaries who profane his words by their base interpretations.

No more efficacious plan suggested itself if he would arouse them to this salutary state of distrust, and even transform it into serious aversion, than to at once unmask their fine talkers and expose to all eyes their moral perversity, the wickedness of their ulterior designs. This Jude had done, and with a great measure of success; for his short note was known far and wide throughout the Orient, had even reached Rome and fallen into Peter’s hands. The latter believed he could not do better than make use of the same picture, accentuate the stronger

¹ 2 Peter i. 17–18.

² Τὰ μέγιστα καὶ τίμια ἐπαγγέλματα. 2 Peter i. 4.

³ 2 Peter i. 19.

⁵ Ibid., i. 21.

⁴ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., iii. 16.

⁷ Ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸς Παῦλος. 2 Peter iii. 15.

lines, and add certain details which the ever increasing corruption of heresy had since then brought to light. The authority lent to it by the Prince of the Apostles made still more striking a picture already popular, adding to it a vivid tone well fitted to open all men's eyes.

Like Jude, he proves that these false doctors preach from motives of cupidity. "They make merchandise of your souls," he tells them, "to satisfy their covetousness"¹ True sons of Balaam, they are ready to do anything for "the wages of unrighteousness."² Haughty, presumptuous, and fond only of themselves, they hold all authority in contempt.³ But it is not so much by their insolent discourses that they lead souls astray, rather is it by the passions of the flesh and sensual delights. "Like beasts devoid of reason, who follow the instincts of their brute nature and are born to be captured and destroyed, so these men blaspheme the things they understand not and shall perish of their own corruption;⁴ and this shall be the just reward of their iniquity. For, by staking all their happiness on the pleasures of a day, they are become our opprobrium; abandoning themselves to the extravagances of the tongue, in the Agapæ they hold with you, their eyes full of adultery, they cease not to sin.⁵ . . . Wells without water, clouds driven by the storm, to whom the mist of darkness is reserved forever,"⁶ the darkness which enchains the Angels that were cast into the abyss;⁷ for if God spared not these rebel spirits,⁸ if, when drowning the ancient world in the Deluge, "He saved none but Noë, the preacher of righteousness," and the seven just ones of his household,⁹ if He reduced to ashes Sodom and Gomorrah,¹⁰ "doubtless He is reserving these sinners to punish them in the Day of Judgment."¹¹

¹ 2 Peter ii. 3; Jude 11.

² 2 Peter ii. 15.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. 10; Jude 8, 16.

⁴ 2 Peter ii. 2, 10, 12; Jude 8, 10.

⁵ "And that same day Noë and Sem and Cham, and Japhet, sons of Noë, and the wife of Noë and the three wives of his sons with him, entered into the Ark." 2 Gen. vii. 13.

¹⁰ 2 Peter ii. 6; Jude 7.

⁵ 2 Peter ii. 13, 14; Jude 12.

⁶ 2 Peter ii. 17; Jude 12, 13.

⁷ 2 Peter ii. 4; Jude 6.

⁸ 2 Peter ii. 4.

¹¹ 2 Peter ii. 9.

Their condemnation, long since a foregone conclusion, approacheth already; the hand of Him Who shall utterly destroy them is not benumbed."¹

Woe, then, to these corrupters of souls! But woe likewise to those who, but lately redeemed from error, allow themselves to be led astray by these men, slaves of corruption, who promise them liberty, but all in vain, since "a man is a slave of him by whom he is vanquished."²

"If, having escaped the pollution of the world through the knowledge of the Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ, they plunge therein anew and are overcome by it, their last state is worse than the first; it had been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness than to turn aside, after they have known it, from the Holy Law which was delivered to them. The true saying of the proverb is fulfilled in them: 'The dog is returned to his vomit, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire.'"³

The sectaries were no longer content, as the day when Jude was scourging them, "with denying the Lord Who had purchased them."⁴ Noting the terror caused in men's souls by their expectation of a Christ Who was to return, at an hour unlooked-for and perhaps close at hand, to judge apostates, they strove hard to prove this return a trumped-up fiction, and never tired jesting at those who dreaded it.⁵ The Apostle rebukes their mockeries by reminding them of what Time really is in the eyes of Him unto Whom "a day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day."⁶ And if the Saviour delays His coming, 't is because He is "long-suffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance."⁷ Nevertheless, let none cherish any doubt of His return, for the word of the Lord has been pledged thereto: for 't is according to "His promise that we await new heavens and a new earth wherein righteousness shall dwell."⁸

¹ 2 Peter ii. 3.

² Ibid., ii. 18-19.

³ Ibid., ii. 20-22.

⁴ 2 Peter ii. 1; Jude 4.

⁵ Ibid., iii. 3-4.

⁶ Ibid., iii. 8.

⁷ Ibid., iii. 9.

⁸ Ibid., iii. 13.

Peter, like Paul, like all the Apostles, indeed, knows naught concerning the date of this last Advent, nor can he discern in the revelation made to him whether the hour is close at hand or afar off; but this he does know, that "the day of the Lord shall come like a thief, and in that day the heavens shall pass away in the roar of the tempest, the elements shall melt with fervent heat, and the earth shall be burnt up with all it contains."¹

"Seeing, then," concludes the Apostle, "that all these things are doomed to perish, what ought you to do, and what ought to be the holiness of your life and piety? . . . Living in this expectation, labor in peace, that God may find you pure and blameless. . . . Let all those of you, dearly beloved, who know these things beforehand, take heed lest, being led away by the error of the perverse, you fall from your own steadfastness, but grow in grace and the knowledge of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. To Him be glory, both now and to the day of Eternity! Amen."²

These weighty instructions were the last which Peter was to leave to the Church. "The hour of his death was approaching rapidly; this the Lord himself had revealed to him;"³ but he had taken every precaution lest after him Christ's flock should be left shepherdless, and he had seen to it that the apostolical authority and tradition should continue in the See of Peter ever living and fruitful.⁴ Thereafter, like the patriarchs of old, the Fathers and patterns of his race, he had but to await beneath his tent the day so close at hand when he was to fold it⁵ for the last time, to enter "into the everlasting realm of his Lord and Saviour Jesus."⁶

Of these last days of the Apostle in Rome there has

¹ 2 Peter iii. 10.

³ Ibid., i. 14.

² Ibid., iii. 11, 14, 17, 18.

⁴ "Moreover, I will endeavor that even after my death you may be able to have these things always in remembrance." 2 Peter i. 15.

⁵ "I esteem it just, so long as I am [in this body as] in a tent, to arouse you by recalling these things to your memory, knowing that the hour for striking my tent approaches rapidly." 2 Peter i. 13, 14.

⁶ 2 Peter i. 11.

come down to us no word save certain legendary narratives which would be out of place in this history; one alone I would make an exception of. Near the Appian way stands a little edifice which bears the name of "Domine, Quo Vadis," "Lord, whither goest Thou?" The Apparition whereof this sanctuary is a pious memorial is related in the following terms by Saint Ambrose.¹ Yielding to the entreaties of his disciples, Peter had decided to escape the storm of persecution by quitting Rome. On emerging from the gates he beheld Jesus approaching as if about to enter the city.

"Lord, whither goest Thou?" he asked Him.

"I am come to be crucified anew," replied the Saviour.

The Apostle grasped the import of this miraculous vision which traced out for him his duty, and turned back to face death.

This tale was, as we know, of venerable antiquity even in Saint Ambrose's day, since two centuries earlier Origen had read it, as it would appear, in the Apocryphal Acts of Saint Paul.² Beneath certain details more or less legendary it is easy to descry a basis of truth, the fact which the Roman Church had ever kept in memory, how Peter, during these last few days had hesitated whether he should flee from persecution, and how an inspiration born of God himself had made him resolve to meet it. That resolution once taken, he displayed the same whole-souled ardor which with him was always the sequel to his first waverings, and boldly braved the coming danger.

But this he was not long to do with impunity. Paul's arrest attracted public attention to the Christians and induced the magistrates to investigate their organization and their leaders. A single imprudent reply would suffice to betray the fact that the principal personage in the Church was then in Rome, and thus put him in the power of judges who were wont to show scant ceremony in their treatment of the faithful. Nor could the Apostle, as Paul

¹ St. Ambrose, *Cont. Auxentium*, 13.

² Origen, *In Joan.*, xx. 12.

by right of his Roman citizenship had done, lay claim to a legal inquiry into his case. He was a mere stranger within their gates, one of those "*humiliores*," those luckless wights of no account, whom a relentless law delivered over to the wild beasts, to the stake, and to the cross. As the fancy of his judges had fallen upon the latter form of execution, Peter was left to languish in the Mamertine prison until the time for its fulfilment.

Roman traditions are unanimous concerning this two-fold fact,¹ and they add that Paul, now also condemned to death, met his brother in the Apostolate within its walls.² There is nothing impossible about these pious beliefs, for under the Empire as under the Republic, the Mamertine was still used as a place of detention for those condemned to death.³ It is not likely, however, that Peter and Paul were made acquainted with the horrors of the *Tullianum*, that murky and foul dungeon deep below the prison properly so-called; only those condemned persons who were to be strangled forthwith were immured there. So, then, in all likelihood it was in the upper prison⁴ that the two Apostles met again together, prepared for death.

Though the testimony of tradition is so unanimous as to the place where they were detained, they do not agree

¹ Paul, *Sent.*, v. 22; cf. *ibid.*, 21-23; Dig. xlviii. 19, 28, sect. 1.

² This tradition appears for the first time in the fifth century in the Acts of Sts. Proculus and Martinianus; these Acts are not authentic, indeed, but the Bollandist Fathers consider that they are not to be rejected in toto. *Acta SS. Julii*, vol. i., p. 269.

³ The Mamertine Prison, as it appears to-day, consists of two cells, one above the other; the upper story is the *Mamertinum*, twenty feet in length and sixteen in width, which communicates by a narrow opening with the lower cell, or *Tullianum*. This gloomy dungeon, circular in form, dates back, it is said, to the time of Servius Tullius; hence its name. Here Jugurtha died of starvation after six days' torture; but ordinarily the condemned persons cast therein were strangled immediately; thus perished the accomplices of Cataline, Vercingetorix, etc. The corpses were taken out of the dungeon to be exposed on the Gemonii, and thence cast into the Tiber. The picture drawn by Sallust of this horrid dungeon remains indelibly fixed on the memory: "*incultus, tenebris, odore, fœda atque terribilis ejus facies est.*" (*Catiline*, lv.)

⁴ The *Carcer Mamertinus* was very large; there is therefore no reason to be surprised that the Apostles, although they were but obscure prisoners, should have spent their days there.

so closely concerning the spot where Peter met martyrdom. Some locate it on the heights of Janiculum, where in our time stands the Church of *San Pietro in Montorio*; but others, more ancient and consequently worthier of credence, insist that he was crucified "in the Vatican near Nero's palace."¹ This region we know well, for it was there that in 64 that great immolation of Roman Christians was accomplished. God so willed it that there too in his turn their Pastor should be crucified, that thus the blood of the Apostle shed on that holy ground should complete its consecration and make it forevermore the domain of Peter.

There Nero had sumptuously completed the Circus commenced by Caligula and upon the broad and lengthy mole (*La Spina*) which divided the arena in two, he had erected the obelisk of Heliopolis.² It was near this monument and between the two goals which marked the extremities of *La Spina* that the tools of execution³ were prepared.

The Apostle, when he advanced to the cross, beheld not so much the tortures whereof it was the instrument, but only the splendor of its future. For from the Vatican that cross was to shed its rays athwart the wide, wide world, spreading everywhere its sovereign action. There on that very spot was destined to be fulfilled for evermore the Saviour's prophecy: "When I shall have been

¹ "Sepultus est . . . juxta locum ubi crucifixus est, juxta palatium Neronianum, in Vaticanum, juxta territorium Triumphalem." *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. i. p. 118, Duchesne's ed. The two traditions are narrated and learnedly discussed in Marucchi's work, *Le Memorie dei SS. Apostoli Pietro e Paolo nella Città di Roma* (Rome, 1894), pp. 74-78. His conclusions are those which I have adopted above, and they seem to me to be well founded.

² This obelisk had been brought from Heliopolis to Rome by the order of Caligula. Pliny, xvi. 76, 5; xxxvi. 14, 15. It was transported to the middle of the square of St. Peter in 1586 by the order of Sixtus V.

³ "Apud palatium Neronianum juxta obeliscum inter duas metas." *Acta Apostolorum apocrypha*, ed. Tischendorf, sect. 8; cf. Bosio, *Roma sotter.*, p. 74 et seq.; *Biblioth. max-patr.*, ii. These details, though taken from apocryphal writings, seem to me too precise to be considered as pure fancies.

raised up from the earth I will draw all men unto me.”¹ To ascend this throne of glory and die there as Jesus died, with brow uplifted and arms outspread to embrace all humanity, seemed too high an honor to the penitent soul, who even in these last moments never forgot his boastful pledge to follow his Master whithersoever He went, and his threefold denial of Him thereafter. He asked, then, to be crucified head downward, and obtained his request.² By this final act of humility, this self-annihilation in the hour of death, Peter took good care to bequeath unto his successors but the one sole Cross, the Cross which saves the world, the Cross of Jesus.

On the same day,³ the twenty-ninth of June, Paul died, like his brother in the Apostolate, a Martyr to the Christ. His case, suddenly reopened, had resulted for him also in the sentence of death; but by right of his Roman citizenship⁴ he was accorded the honor of decapitation.⁵ The centurion appointed to execute the sentence conducted the Apostle quite a distance from Rome, an hour's journey from the Ostian gate.⁶ To the left of the highroad

¹ John xii. 32.

² *Acta Petri et Pauli*, c. 81; Origen, quoted by Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, iii. 1; Eusebius, *Dem. ev.*, iii. 5; St. Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 1; cf. Seneca, *Consol. ad Marciam*, 20.

³ The tradition that Peter and Paul died on the same day can be traced back to the second century (Dionysius of Corinth, quoted by Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, ii. 25), and is accepted by St. Jerome (*De vir. illust.*, v.), in the decree falsely attributed to St. Gelasius (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. lix., p. 167), and the *Liber Pontificalis* (Duchesne's ed., vol. i., pp. 118, 119, note 12), etc. As to the date of this double martyrdom, common opinion nowadays places it in the year 67. This is the date given by St. Jerome (*Liber Pontificalis*, etc.), and is adopted by Baronius, Petau, Patrizi, Bartolini; the last-named may be consulted with especial profit: *Sopra l'anno 67 dell' era volgare, se fosse quel de' martirio de' gloriosi Apostoli*, Roma, 1868.

⁴ Paul, *Sent.*, v. xxix. 1.

⁵ Tertullian, *De prescript.*, 36; *Scorp.*, 15; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, ii. 25; Lactantius, *De morte persec.* 2; St. Jerome, *De vir. ill.* v.

⁶ Paul was well known in Rome; the fear lest his execution might cause some outbreak among the people was probably what determined them to have him beheaded so far outside the city. Similar motives caused Calpurnius Galerianus to be put to death without the walls of Rome. “Custodia militari cinctus, ne in ipsa urbe conspectior mors foret, ad quadragesimum ab urbe Lapidem, via Appia, fuso per venas sanguine extinguitur.” Tacitus, *Histor.*, iv. 11.

known by this name, the Via Ardæa, which joins it, leads to a little hollow surrounded by a low line of hills and known by the name of the Wholesome Waters. The soldiers halted the Martyr beneath the shade of a pine tree, renowned in olden times,¹ and stripped his back for the scourging.² For the last time Paul must needs bend his back to the whip, and then, baring his neck to the headsman's sword, he breathed forth his spirit and was at long last united with his Lord.

Neither the words nor the thoughts of the Apostle at this supreme moment have come down to us, yet it is not hard to conceive what they must have been, for the death of God's holy ones is but the consummation of their life. Saint Theresa is lifted up in a final ecstasy, Saint Francis of Assisi smiles and sings in the face of death, and accosts it by the tender little "Sister." Paul's career had been one long warfare for Jesus against sin; he beheld that old foe of his, now checked and overcome by Grace, that Grace whose efficacy he had preached everywhere, bearing the Good News unto the ends of the known world.³ He, then, died as a "soldier of the Christ,"⁴ rejoicing for that he was deemed worthy to shed his blood for his Master, and repeating that glad cry which long since we heard from his holy lips, "O Death, where is thy sting? O Grave, where is thy victory? . . . Thanks be to God, Who giveth us the victory through Jesus Christ Our Lord."⁵

This has been always, indeed, the feeling of the Roman Church in regard of their two leaders, thus slain for the Cause. Piously reposing their relics in the neighborhood of their martyrdom, their disciples erected, not sepulchres, but *Trophies*; for by this title, as we shall see in the suc-

¹ *Acta Apostolorum apocrypha*, Tischendorf, p. 35; St. Gregory the Great, *Epist.*, xiv. xiv.; the Itineraries of the pilgrims, quoted by Signor de Rossi in *Roma sotterranea*, vol. i., p. 182.

² "Nudatos virgis cædunt securique ferunt." Titus Livy, ii. 6. Very many passages in Tacitus go to show that, under Nero, prisoners were customarily beheaded, not with the axe, but by the sword.

³ Acts xiii. 47.

⁴ Καλὸς στρατιώτης Χριστοῦ. 2 Tim. ii. 3.

⁵ 1 Cor. xv. 55-57.

ceeding ages, the tombs of Peter and Paul were known. "As for me," says Caius, one of his own priests in the beginning of the third century, "I can show you the *Trophies* of the Apostles; whether you go to the Vatican, or whether you take the Ostian highway, you will find these *Trophies* of the men who founded our Church."¹

As the disciples possessed no place of sepulture near the *Tre Fontane*, they were forced to carry the body of Paul half-way to Rome on the Ostian Road, where now stands the magnificent Basilica of the Apostle. But for Peter, they had a shorter distance to traverse. There was a burial-ground close by the gardens of Nero, between the new Via Aureliana and the Via Triumphalis.² In all likelihood, ever since the year 64 the Christians of Rome had prepared a place of burial thereabouts for their brethren who had fallen victims to the ferocity of Nero; at all events, there is no doubt about the fact that they possessed a cemetery there shortly after the death of the Apostle, since we know that the Popes, until the end of the second century, were buried there.³ Accordingly, the relics of Peter rested hereabouts for almost two hundred years, where they are now overshadowed by the dome of the Vatican. In 258 an edict of Valerian put all the Christian cemeteries under the law of sequestration, and forbade the Christians to forgather there. Owing to this and to the dread of seeing the two tombs of the Apostles profaned, they thought best to transfer their relics to a safer resting-place. The

¹ These words of Caius, recorded by Eusebius (*Histor. eccl.*, ii. 25), acquaint us, not only with the tradition of his time, but with that of the age which preceded it. The authenticity of these monuments up to the second century is therefore incontestible. It is established in the fourth century by the basilicas which Constantine erected over the two tombs, by the testimony of Eusebius (*Histor. eccl.*, ii. 25), and of Optatus of Mileto (*De Schismat. Donastit.*, i. ii. 2; and in the fifth century by that of St. Jerome (*De vir. illustr.* i.), and of Prudentius (*Peristeph.*, Hymn xii.).

² The numerous Pagan inscriptions unearthed round about the "Confession" of St. Peter, when the basilica was rebuilt, leave no doubt as to this fact. Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 697 *et seq.*

³ The *Liber Pontificalis* gives the following direction: "Sepultus est juxta corpus beati Petri in Vaticano," to indicate the tombs of the first Popes: Linus, Cletus, Anacletus, Evaristus, Xystus, Telesphorus, Hyginus, Pius, Eleutherus, and Victor.

locality called "*Ad Catacumbas*," a little over two miles on the Appian highway, seemed to them to offer perfect security. Accordingly those precious relics were transported thither, and there remained for a year and seven months, according to the Apocryphal Acts of Peter and Paul,¹ but forty years longer if we are to take the testimony of the itineraries written by the pilgrims of the seventh century.²

Whatever question there may be concerning these various witnesses, at least there is no doubt that the bodies of these Saints were brought back to their first place of burial, and that whole and intact; for it is impossible to put any credence in the legend which tells us that Saint Sylvester mingled the sacred ashes at the time of the second translation, that thus Peter and Paul should be ever venerated, both on the Ostian Way and at the Vatican. Such an idea is not merely devoid of historical foundation,³ but would seem repugnant to the true Christian feeling concerning the foundation of the Church. For it is not true that Jesus had set two heads over the Apostolical College; only one had He chosen, Peter alone. That Paul was commissioned to lend him aid, and that he accomplished the task with perfect freedom, but respectfully and with such heartfelt devotion withal that Peter never ceased to admire and cherish him,—this fact our narrative has ever insisted upon. It is that, in fact, which is ever proclaimed by the Roman Church, which, in its liturgy always intertwines the memory and the veneration of both its holy founders. However, with this pious remembrance of brotherly unity there ends any likeness between the two Apostles. Paul, great and glorious as he appears to us, was but a Voice, "a Word,"⁴ the most powerful and

¹ Fiorentini, *Vetust. Martyrol.*, p. iii.

² De Rossi, *Roma Sotter.*, vol. i., p. 180. Concerning this translation, see Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. i., pp. civ-cvii; Marucchi, *Le Memorie*, pp. 39-68; De Waal, *Die Apostelgruft ad Catacumbas an der Via Appia*, Roma, 1894.

³ Marucchi, *Le Memorie*, p. 72.

⁴ "Dux verbi." Acts xiv. 11; cf. Ephes. iii. 8; Hebr. iv. 12; Ephes. vi. 17.

the most fruitful after that of Jesus Himself; but the mission of the Apostle unto the Gentiles ended with him. That of Peter was to last forever: to him alone and for evermore, since he lives always in his successors, and only unto him, God has confided all that which constitutes the very life of the Church, her holy faith, her teaching, her government, her power of binding and loosing.¹ It was therefore fitting that he alone should rest beneath the Vatican, under that vast cupola whereon the words which made him the sole sovereign even to-day enlighten and rule the world: "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church."²

"TU ES PETRUS ET SUPER HANC PETRAM
ÆDIFICABO ECCLESIAM MEAM."

Thus, then, even in death, Paul played a subordinate part. His body, it is true, reposes in Rome, but "without the walls,"³ mingled with and well-nigh eclipsed by the glory of Saint Peter. The three words graven upon his tomb sum up his whole life and all its greatness,—

PAUL. APOSTLE. MARTYR.

PAULO

APOSTOLO MART.⁴

¹ Luke xxii. 32; John xxi. 15-17; Matt. xvi. 18, 19.

² Matt. xvi. 18. This inscription fills out the whole circumference of the frieze in golden letters six and a half (6½) feet high on a blue ground.

³ As is well known, the basilica erected over the Apostle's tomb is thus designated: *S. Paolo fuori le Mura*.

⁴ This inscription, discovered entire in 1838, during the work on the new basilica, dates back to the time of Constantine. Such at least is the opinion of Signor de Rossi (*Bull. di Archæol. Christ.*, 1838, p. 153), an opinion adopted and confirmed by Father Grisar in his learned work entitled *Le Tombe apostoliche di Roma*; (*Studi e documenti di storia e diritto*, 1892).

CHAPTER XIII.

ROME AFTER THE DEATH OF SAINT PETER AND SAINT PAUL.

WE have seen that from the time of the burning of Rome Nero had declined in popular favor.¹ After this disaster and the inevitable massacre which was its sequel, his popularity waned the more. To avert a final and decisive misfortune, he deemed the best course for him to pursue was to revive those spectacles which had never failed to delight the lower classes. After the year 65 the list of chariot races was largely augmented.² In the same year the celebration of the Quinquennial Sports was renewed.³ In fact, this Imperial actor had never before gone to such lengths, and Rome beheld the strange sight of an emperor, lord over the whole world, walking the boards and contending with low-born players for a singer's prize. Once his act was concluded, he bowed his knee, and with a humble gesture besought the suffrages of his audience, pretending that he awaited them in great anxiety.⁴ Of course there was no question as to the response his appeal

¹ Tacitus, *Annales*, xv. 44, 45.

² *Ibid.*, xv. 74.

³ *Ibid.*, xvi. 4. Friedländer (*Mœurs romaines au temps d'Auguste*, vol. ii. p. 255) holds that these contests took place in the year 64, basing his theory on the Greek custom, which was to renew these festivals every four years: now, the first celebration occurred in the year 60. (Tacitus, *Annales*, xiv. 20-21; Eckhel, *Doctrina nummorum veterum*, vi., p. 264.) This is a mistake which Schiller (*Geschichte des römischen Kaiserreichs unter der Regierung des Nero*, p. 198) rectifies with good reason. Now Tacitus' expression ought to be taken literally: "Quinquennale ludicrum Romæ institutum est ad morem Græci certaminis." *Annales*, xiv. 20; cf. Suetonius, *Nero*, 12: "Instituit et quinquennale certamen primus omnium Romæ, more Græco."

⁴ Tacitus, *Annales*, xvi. 4: "Postremo flexus genu et cœtum illum manu veneratus, sententias judicum opperiebatur ficto pavore."

would meet with; his own guards, scattered among the spectators, were the leaders of the applause; at the least sign of weakness or hesitancy they rained down blows upon the onlookers. Vespasian was forced to pay dearly for his heinous crime, because in a moment of fatigue he yielded to his overpowering need of sleep.¹

But of what use were such amusements to stay the wrath of the multitude so embittered, and furthermore afflicted by a plague whereof Tacitus has left a terrific description? "There was to be noted," he says, "no token of corruption in the air, and yet the dwellings were cumbered with corpses and the streets with funeral trains; neither sex nor age escaped the scourge; all men, whether slave or free, were mowed down alike speedily. They breathed their last amid the lamentations of their wives and children, who themselves were attacked even while kneeling at their deathbed, and oftentimes were burnt on the same funeral pyre."² When the plague had run its course, there were over thirty thousand deaths to be reckoned in the city.³

Would the people show more appreciation for glorious deeds of war? This, Nero in the following year was fain to discover. The world, then at peace, or at least held in awe of established authority, knew of no rebels except the Parthians. In the year 63, Corbulo had succeeded in putting a stop to their inroads, and had succeeded in arranging to have Tiridates, brother of their king, receive from Rome the kingship over Armenia:⁴ an act of great diplomacy this, which, by interposing a tributary state between the two Empires, would use it as a buffer between the contending armies, and thereby render them less formidable to the provinces of Asia. Hitherto, Tiridates had deferred his entrance into Rome there to be crowned. Nero resolved to recall him and to exhibit this man, whom the whole East saluted as "King of kings," kneeling before him as his vassal. To draw some prestige to himself

¹ Tacitus, *Annales*, xvi. 5.

² *Ibid.*, xvi. 13.

³ Suetonius, *Nero*, 39.

⁴ Tacitus, *Annales*, xv. 29, 31.

from this triumphal progress, he bade that it be surrounded with unheard-of magnificence. Tiridates traversed Asia, Thrace, Illyria, and Italy with a whole army as his escort, pillaging and destroying the towns which were forced to entertain him. All Rome, bidden to his coronation, beheld this prince prostrate before the Emperor and accepting from him the royal diadem. They heard, too, his exaggerated words of thanks couched in the Oriental fashion, —

“My Lord, as thy slave am I come unto thee who art my God, to worship thee as the Sun itself. I will be what thou makest of me, for thou art my lot and my fortune.”¹

All in vain were those lying words of flattery! Un-availing, too, his splendid progress! Rome had had her fill of such scenes of servility; she was sated with exhibitions of bloodshed and disgrace; nor would she applaud them any more unless constrained by force.

Nero, now despairing of any return of his pristine popularity, sought elsewhere those acclamations without which his vanity could not exist. Greece, that mother of all the fine arts, still worshipped at their shrine, and could still reckon upon a goodly number of connoisseurs. Accordingly he decided to appeal to these judges in matters of taste from the contemptuous reception he had met with at the hands of a low-born and common populace.

It was in the year 66 that he set out upon his journey toward Greece. His departure, however, in no wise lightened the burden of terror which weighed upon Rome, for he left behind him two most active ministers of his cruelty, Tigellinus and Helius, the freedmen. Peter and Paul, as we have just seen, are to be numbered among their victims. Nevertheless, it would seem that during his absence there was not so much bloodshed as previously; for the Tyrant's attention was altogether absorbed in his passion for the stage; those visions of warlike conquest had at length turned, in his poor brain, into a mad desire to be greeted as a great actor. For soldiers he

¹ Dion Cassius, lxi. 2, 7.

brought with him into Achaia whole legions of ballet-dancers, fully equipped with masks and lyres and instruments of music.¹ But no crown of military or artistic glory was destined to fall to the lot of the persecutor of the Christians. God was paving the way for him toward that final goal when he should be overwhelmed by the scorn of all mankind; nor were any trophies henceforth to be accorded him save the showman's awards, and these wrung from the obsequiousness, or oftenest from the fear, of his judges.

Greece dared not, indeed, refuse anything to the Master of the World come thither to demand applause. The Olympian Games were deferred that he might win his triumph there:² a wretched victory, indeed, since he was upset in the chariot race and nearly lost his life; an accident which in no way hindered them from awarding him the prize.³ He knew well, however, the best way to discourage his rivals. On the occasion of the Isthmian Sports, one actor was so imprudent as to win the audience's appreciation by his fine voice. The tyrant ordered him to be strangled on the very scene of his success.⁴ Thereafter these contests degenerated into an attempt on the part of his rivals to let themselves be beaten gracefully. Nero received over eighteen hundred crowns in the various arenas where he appeared.⁵ For fear lest he should take umbrage even at past glories, they hastened everywhere to pull down the statues of former winners.⁶ Nero ordained days of thanksgiving to the gods, in Rome and throughout the Empire,⁷ in return for these miserable triumphs. Greece, too, was bountifully rewarded for its complacency, and was declared a free land,⁸ and thereby escaped all taxation and all subjection to Roman governors.

¹ Dion Cassius, lxi. 8.

² Suetonius, *Nero*, 23; Eusebius, *Chronicorum*, book ii. Ann. Xth 67.

³ Dion Cassius, lxi. 14; Suetonius, *Nero*, 24.

⁴ Lucian, *Nero seu de isthmo*, 9.

⁵ Dion Cassius, lxi. 21.

⁶ Suetonius, *Nero*, 24.

⁷ Dion Cassius, lxi. 18.

⁸ Suetonius, *Nero*, 24; Dion Cassius, lxi. 11.

Certain localities, however, did not lend themselves so easily to help out this farce. At Eleusis, the tyrant, stained with his scores of murders, durst not be initiated into its mysteries. For there the herald had cried out, "Stand back, all impious and wicked men!" The Furies, who once had fallen upon the parricide Orestes, were still watching over Athens. Nero took good care not to encounter them. Nor did he even enter their city, the Queen of Greece and the sanctuary of her genius.¹

Other anxieties, too, still further aggravated his troubles. The Empire, throughout its length and breadth, shuddered with fear of the despot, who was bankrupting them. His exactions from the provinces began after the burning of Rome;² thereafter they only increased, for he required fabulous sums to pay for the royal pomp whereon he based his whole political policy.³ Even Greece, which had so pandered to his passions, paid dearly for the tyrant's love of the fine arts. From Delphi he took away with him five hundred statues; from the Thespians the glorious Eros of Praxiteles; elsewhere other marvels of art.⁴

But far more than these acts of vandalism did Nero's treatment of his army precipitate his fall. He angered both the veterans and legionaries by his remissness in paying their wage, and alienated their leaders by putting them under control of his freedmen, and leaving them to the mercy of his informers.⁵ All those whom personal worth or success in arms had rendered popular became forthwith objects of suspicion; disgrace and the oblivion of some minor post was the lot of the more fortunate; the most illustrious of their number were put to death. Two brothers of the noble house of Scribonia, Rufus and Proculus, were then renowned commanders. Recalled by the Emperor on their way home, they were met with further orders to do away with themselves. Nor did the

¹ Suetonius, *Nero*, 34.

² Tacitus, *Annales*, xv. 45.

³ The journey of Tiridates alone cost him about twelve million dollars of our money. Suetonius, *Nero*, 30.

⁴ Pausanias, v. xxv. 9; xxvi. 3; ix. xxvii. 3; x. vii. 1; Dion Cassius, lxiii. 11.

⁵ Tacitus, *Annales*, xiv. 39.

services rendered by Corbulo in the war with the Parthians, nor the esteem in which he was held throughout the whole Empire, suffice to save him. He, too, summoned to meet Nero, met his condemnation when about to take ship from the harbor of Kenchræa. Forthwith he slew himself with his own sword. "I have deserved this" he said, regretting only that he had not anticipated the monster and delivered the world from his tyranny.¹

Nor was he alone in cherishing such feelings. The freedman Helius, to whom Nero had left absolute power in Rome, noted daily, with more and more distinctness, the stifled mutterings of revolt. He wrote to Greece urging the Emperor to return, and when no reply came, went thither in person to rouse him from his dreams.² Nero, now thoroughly alarmed, decided to go back to Italy. This step, notwithstanding, he would not consent to, save in his assumed character of conqueror; for the laurels of the stage had more value in his eyes than the Imperial crown. It was an olden custom that victors in the Olympian Sports should re-enter their native town, not through the gates, but through a breach made in the walls; and this homage he exacted from all the cities he passed through, — from Naples, Antium, and Albanum.

But it was for his entry into Rome that he reserved all the sumptuousness and display his diseased imagination could elaborate. He appeared before his people mounted in the same chariot in which Augustus had made his triumphal progress, with the Olympian crown encircling his brow, and in his hand that of the Pythians; roundabout him were his other awards, bearing inscriptions which told where he had won them, over what rivals, in what place, and in what rôle. Sacrifices were offered all along his line of march; clouds of incense arose; while applauding throngs proclaimed themselves his companions in strife, the soldiers who shared his glory.

"Long live the victor of Olympia!" shouted the crowd.

"Long live the winner at the Pythian Games!"

¹ Dion Cassius, lxxiii. 17.

² Ibid. lxxiii. 19.

“Long life to Nero, the Hercules!”

“To Nero, the Apollo!”

“Augustus! Augustus! O Godlike voice! happy is he who harkeneth unto thee!”

Among such acclamations the eighteen hundred crowns were carried before him into one of the circuses of Rome.¹ Which one it was, we do not know, — perhaps the Great Circus at the foot of the Palatine; more probably that of the Vatican, the latter being Nero’s own amphitheatre and individual domain. There is good reason to believe that these histrionic trophies of his were hung about that same obelisk which had looked down upon the horrible martyrdom of the Christians and the crucifixion of Peter.

Nevertheless, there were portentous signs of the fast approaching calamity. Judea was now in the throes of a general rebellion, and, even while in Greece, he had been forced to despatch thither one of the greatest generals of the Empire, Vespasian.² Spain, too, was on the point of an uprising, but it was Gaul which was the first to shake off the yoke with some prospect of success. A descendant of the old kings of Aquitania, Julius Vindex, was then governor of this province, and his ancestry made the base lord in whose name he ruled doubly detestable to him. Every day news came from Rome telling of infamous acts, so much so that it rose in his gorge and made him ready for rebellion. At his call the brave and ancient races which had withstood Cæsar — the Ædui, the Sequani, and the Averni — rose in revolt. A hundred thousand men were put on a war footing at once, and the remainder held in reserve.³ Strong in the confidence inspired by this outburst, Vindex opened negotiations with the Governor of Spain. From Lusitania, Otho, former husband of Poppæa, despatched generous subsidies. Galba did more: he levied two legions from Tarasconian Spain, and set out toward the Pyrenees.⁴

¹ Suetonius, *Nero*, 25; Dion Cassius, lxi. 20.

² Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iii. iv. 2.

³ Dion Cassius, lxi. 22.

⁴ *Ibid.*, lxi. 23; Suetonius, *Galba*, 9.

Nero had returned to Naples when news of the revolt reached his ears. At first he learned only of the uprising of the Gauls, and these tidings he greeted after such a manner as to give rise to the suspicion that he regarded it merely as a stroke of good luck,—another occasion for pillaging one of the richest provinces of the Empire with his mailed fist. Showing no sign of trouble or disquiet, he betook himself to the gymnasium, and there displayed the greatest interest in his duties as umpire over the athletic sports. This indifference lasted one whole week, during which he neither gave any orders nor even spoke of the rebellion, appearing to have forgotten all about it. All in vain did despatch after despatch arrive, growing daily more urgent. One alone of these missives had power to move him; it contained a proclamation wherein Vindex alluded to him as a “poor singer.” Cut to the quick in his tenderest point, he wrote a note to the Senate, bidding that body avenge him. Whereupon he went hither and thither, demanding of every one “whether really any greater artist than he had been known to mankind.” The despatches, however, became of so alarming a tone that he finally took fright and returned to Rome, though at first this was only to busy himself in the same futile pursuits which had now become his only thought in life. Calling together an assemblage of the foremost citizens, he spent the whole day in making trial of certain novel instruments of music in their presence.¹

Nor were his eyes opened until the moment when he was informed that the cohorts of Gaul were making common cause with the rebel nations, and that Galba had joined their forces, together with the soldiers of Spain. He was dining when this news was brought him; beside himself, he tore up the letter, overturned the table, and shattered upon the ground two wrought goblets of great price, whence he was wont to drink. The fit of madness having spent itself, he fell to the floor

¹ Suetonius, *Nero*, 40, 41; Dion Cassius, lxxiii. 26.

and there remained for a long time senseless and half dead.¹ The most fantastical schemes seethed within his brain, now outworn by his excesses. He talked of having the governors of provinces slaughtered, and of butchering all the natives of Gaul then in Rome, of poisoning the Senate, of setting fire to the city, and at the same time of letting loose the wild beasts of the amphitheatre upon the populace. To these transports of rage succeeded other very different feelings. Trembling before the impending catastrophe, he thought only of beseeching mercy from his foes.

"I will go," he said, "and show myself unarmed before the rebellious legions, and I shall need but to exhibit my tear-stained countenance. So speedy a repentance will win them back to me, and on the morrow we shall all rejoice together and chant a pæan of victory. I will go and compose it at once."²

Any defence organized by such a madman could not be other than absurd and farcical. In default of the urban districts, which refused to furnish their quota, he formed his legions from the servile class. More than this, he even enrolled his own women-folk, in the garb of Amazons, their locks shorn, and armed with battle-axes and shields. His principal care, however, at this moment of imminent danger, was to look out for his theatrical baggage and his musical instruments; he spared no pains to collect the chariots necessary to transport them in his train.³

At the first onslaught of an armed foe this sinister clown must have met with overpowering defeat. An unforeseen happening, however, prolonged the period of his tyranny for a few days. The city of Lyons, which had recently suffered from a conflagration and been succored by him, retained a grateful recollection⁴ of his bounty. During the defection of the other parts of Gaul this town remained faithful to him and summoned to its aid the legions of Germany. At the head of the latter

¹ Suetonius, *Nero*, 42.

² *Ibid.*, 43; Dion Cassius, lxxiii. 27.

³ Suetonius, *Nero*, 44.

⁴ Tacitus, *Annales*, xvi. 13.

was Verginius Rufus, a man of action, as loyal as he was brave, and permeated with respect for the laws, the Senate, and the Roman majesty. Seeing in Vindex but a disturber of public order, he marched against him, and although at a conference held between them the two generals reached an agreement, their armies of their own accord came to blows. Twenty thousand Gauls succumbed, and in despair Vindex slew himself. Verginius was left master of the field, his legions proclaiming him Emperor. Devoid as he was of personal ambition, he bade them cease, and himself awaited further orders from Rome.¹

The decision arrived speedily, not from the Senate, which, long accustomed to obey, had now grown timid and nerveless, but from the Pretorian Guard. Tigellinus, one of their Prefects, was negotiating secretly with Galba; the other, Nymphidius by name, hastened the final issue of events. Having persuaded his soldiers that Nero had sought safety in flight, he promised them in Galba's name, thirty thousand sesterii a man,² and this induced them to proclaim him Emperor.³

On the eighth day of June this military revolution was accomplished and the soldiers quitted the palace. Awakened in the middle of the night, Nero beheld himself without a single guardsman. He sprang from bed and sent messengers throughout the city in quest of his friends. As not one of them put in an appearance, he rushed through the streets of Rome, knocking at one door after another. Not one was opened to him. On his return he found that his sleeping apartments had been rifled and a vial of poison which Locusta had prepared for such an emergency, had disappeared. In vain did he beseech that a gladiator from the amphitheatre be sent to give him the death thrust.

"So, then," he cried, "I have neither friends nor enemies any more!" and in his desperation dashed forth again to

¹ Dion Cassius, lxi. 24, 25; Plutarch, *Galba*, vi.

² About four hundred dollars.

³ Tacitus, *Historiæ*, i. 72; Plutarch, *Galba*, ii.

throw himself into the Tiber. But his cowardice halted him on the river-brink and he returned to the Palace, now left silent and desolate.¹

Certain freedmen of his, however, had not fled as yet; one of them, Phaon by name, owned a villa about four miles from Rome, between the Salarian and the Nomentana roads. Touched with pity, he offered to conduct the unhappy wretch thither, and mounted him in all haste upon a sorry beast. The darkness of the night covered their escape. Nero fled barefooted, half-dressed, and covered with an old cloak which he wrapped about his head to escape recognition. Phaon, Sporus, his secretary Epaphroditus, and one other of his freedmen were the only ones who accompanied him. They had hardly started on their road when bodeful signs and portents greeted them; a thunderbolt fell so close that it seemed to strike him full in the face; the ground rocked wildly beneath their feet. "It seemed," says the historian Dion, "as if it were about to open, and that the spirits of all those whom he had slain were going to cast themselves upon him."² At the Collina Gate he heard the shouts of his Pretorian guardsmen in their camp. They were cursing him and acclaiming Galba.³

Though partially recognized by a few wayfarers, he was successful, nevertheless, in making good his escape and reaching the country-house of Phaon. It behooved him to enter unnoticed. The little group therefore dismounted, and took a footpath strewn with brambles and thorns. Along this Nero slunk with great difficulty, trying to make his mantle serve as some protection for his bare feet. Thus by degrees they reached the rear of the villa, where a ditch, lined with *pozzolana*, led up to the enclosure; from this approach the freedmen set to work boring a hole beneath the wall in order to effect a secret entrance. During this labor, Phaon urged Nero to hide within the ditch, but this he refused to do, declaring that it was not

¹ Suetonius, *Nero*, 47.

² Dion Cassius, *lxxiii.* 28.

³ Suetonius, *Nero*, 48.

to his taste to bury himself alive, and then threw himself flat upon his belly amid the thorn-bushes. The pangs of thirst tormented him; in his hands he scooped up the water from a pool close by. "Lo! this is the drink of a Nero!" he exclaimed. By these words he simply was striving after effect; nor did any more serious ones fall from his lips, even in that dread hour; not a sign of any qualms of conscience, no backward glance at his past in this miserable creature, worn out by crime and debauchery; there remained but the soul of a poor *buffoon*.¹

Through the hole which they had succeeded in making beneath the wall, he dragged himself into a neighboring room. There he threw himself down upon a cot trembling with fear, sobbing, only now and then starting up from his stupor of grief to declaim a few lines of tragedy verse. He was overheard muttering those lines from *Cædipus*, which depicted his distressful state, —

"My Wife, my Mother, and my Father
Pronounced on me sentence of death."

The witnesses of this cowardly agony were fain to see an end to it, and besought Nero to seek death as a refuge from the indignities which threatened him. He bade them dig his grave so as to fit his body; told them what precious marbles they should ornament it with; then demanded that water and wood be brought for his funeral rites. At each fresh order he wept, and never ceased repeating, "What an artist the world is about to lose!"

In the interval a message is handed Phaon: Nero seizes it; therein he reads that the Senate denounces him as an enemy of his fatherland and ordains that he be punished according to the ancient law.

"What sort of punishment is that?" he demands.

They answer him that the condemned man be stripped of his garments, his head thrust in the stocks, and that he be then beaten with rods until he be dead, whereafter his body must be dragged down with iron hooks and thrown

¹ Suetonius, *Nero*, 48.

into the Tiber. For an instant this vision seems to give him some decision. He takes up two daggers which he wore upon his person, tries their points, then thrusts them back into their sheaths.

"The fatal moment has not yet arrived," he says; the scoundrel was bent on fighting off the approach of death and covering his last hours with shame, as has been so strikingly depicted by Suetonius.

"Now he would beseech Sporus to weep and mourn with him, and again, beg some one to give him courage to die by killing himself with him. Sometimes, too, he rebuked himself for his cowardice; he would say, "I am but dragging out a wicked and miserable life," and then added: "This is not fitting a Nero; this befits me not! Each man must needs be resigned at such moments; come, then, arouse thyself, my soul!" Already were approaching the horseguards who had been ordered to take him alive. When he heard them, with trembling lips he repeated this line in Greek, —

"The fast flying feet of quivering coursers now I hear;"¹

whereupon he drove the steel into his side, aided by the hand of his secretary, Epaphroditus.

He was still breathing when the centurion entered, who, feigning that he was come to assist him, wanted to bind up the wound.

"Too late, too late," said Nero, and added, "Is this thy plighted faith?"

He expired while uttering these words, with wide-open and staring eyes, an object of horror and fear to those who gazed upon him.² That fidelity which the dying Nero sought in vain from those about him, was confined to three lowly women who refused to abandon his corpse. Two of them had helped to bring him up, and remembered nothing else save the charms of his childish hours. The other, Actæa, though belonging to the servile class, had been

¹ Homer, *Iliad*, x. 535.

² Suetonius, *Nero*, 48; Dion Cassius, lxxiii. 28, 29.

loved by him in the old days, before he had given himself up to his later excesses.¹ Some say that she is that favorite of Nero spoken of by St. John Chrysostom and whom Saint Paul converted;² this conjecture has little historical foundation, unhappily, for it would be a pleasing thought that it was a Christian woman who performed the last pious rites for the persecutor of her Faith.

Rome indeed felt far too happy at its deliverance from such a monster to dole him out the poorest funeral honors. While the joyous throng went dancing through the streets, waving their liberty caps, his three pious friends were left free to burn his body, wrapped in a costly shroud, and to repose his ashes in the burial-place of the *Domitius*, on the Hill of the Gardens (the *Pincio* of to-day).³ From these heights he continued for many a day to exert an indefinable sway to terrorize men's souls; unknown hands each year left flowers on his tomb, whether it was to appease his *Manes*, or to avert his vengeance,⁴ since even the fact of his death remained shrouded in doubt to some minds, and they feared him too greatly not to dread his possible return. Happily for the world, Nero had disappeared forever. But a few years later the elder Pliny uttered the verdict of history, and unconsciously in a few words performed an act of righteous retribution: using against the tyrant the same weapon, that same accusation of infamous practices, which he had had recourse to in his persecutions of the Christians, he brands him as "the enemy of the human race."⁵ The widespread horror felt for the tyrant by the general public worked in favor of the Christians, as of his other victims; for men had become sated and disgusted with torture and bloodshed. Furthermore, the

¹ Suetonius, *Nero*, 50.

² St. John Chrysostom. *Adversus oppugnatores vitæ monasticæ*, vol. i. 3; Greppo, *Trois mémoires relatifs à l'histoire ecclésiastique des premiers siècles chrétiens*, pp. 41 et seq.

³ Suetonius, *Nero*, 50; Dion Cassius, lxxiii. 29.

⁴ Suetonius, *Nero*, 57; Dion Chrysostom, *Orat.*, xxi. 10; Plutarch, *Galba*, vii.; Tacitus, *Histor.*, ii. 8; Sulpicius Severus, *Histor.*, ii. 29; Lactantius, *De morte persecut.*, 2.

⁵ Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, vii. 46.

disorders which were just then racking the Empire helped to divert public attention from the faithful. To overthrow Nero, not only Rome and the Prætorian camp had taken up arms, but the provinces and their legions as well; each of these different parties clung to its own ambitious views and individual interests; the death of Vindex and the military uprightness of Verginius alone delayed for a few days the outbreak of civil war. Galba, the Emperor elected out of Spain, was accordingly permitted to take in hand the reins of power, but with too feeble a grasp to handle them aright. The new Cæsar had administrated successively four provinces¹ with inflexible honesty, and looked forward to manifesting in the government of the Empire the same unfaltering justice. Unhappily, having reached the age of seventy-three, and crippled with gout, he was far too broken in body to regenerate a world which had unlearned every lesson of virtuous conduct and asked only to be amused. Nor had he even the talent required to select ministers capable of supplying what he lacked. Rather, he allowed the reaction against the preceding reign to turn into a very unwise and uncalled-for persecution, while by his niggardliness he disaffected both the people and the troops of Rome, long wonted to generous displays of luxury.² "The slightest largess," says Tacitus, "would have kept the soldiers true to their duty; he ruined himself by this old-fashioned sternness, and by a rigorousness too severe for our manner of life."³ These same tendencies led him astray in the choice of a successor: instead of restoring his popularity by this act, as he had hoped, he merely hastened its decline. Otho, who had but recently well-nigh ruined himself in the cause in Spain, regarded it as the basest ingratitude that his friend should have pre-

¹ Aquitania, Upper Germany, Africa, and Tarraconensis. Suetonius, *Galba*, 6, 7, 8.

² Suetonius, *Galba*, 12-16; Dion Cassius, lxiv. 1-3; Plutarch, *Galba*, xv.-xviii.

³ Tacitus, *Histor.*, i. 18.

ferred to him Piso, a young man whose sole recommendation was the austerity of his life. Rage and disappointment made Otho take sides with the Prætorian Guards. This band of picked men, already ripe for revolt, were easily won over by his flatteries, his promises, and the little wealth left him, all of which he showered upon them. Whereupon they responded by acclaiming him Lord and Master of the World. Galba was forthwith overwhelmed in the onslaught of conspirators, and massacred in the open forum.¹

There could be no doubt as to what was expected of Otho by the populace and the soldiery. All remembered the part taken by him in the luxurious debaucheries in the preceding reign; it was almost as much as if his word was pledged to revive them. And at first he seemed fain to float with the tide, allowing himself to be saluted by the name of Nero, re-erecting the statues which Nero had built, putting his favorites back in office, and giving orders to complete the "Golden House." But beneath these politic acts he was concealing hopes most creditable to himself. He, too, after the example of Galba, harbored designs of managing Rome like the province of Lusitania, which he had governed uprightly for ten years. Time alone failed him. The legions of Lower Germany, now escaped from the iron grasp of Galba, had saluted as Emperor their chosen chief Vitellius. Those of Upper Germany and of Brittany had joined forces with them,—in all, eleven legions; and these, the most valiant in the Empire, began to march Romewards on learning of the murder of Galba. This redoubtable army came pouring down ever more speedily, and met in conflict, on the fields of Bedriacum,² with the forces which Otho had been too tardy in collecting. The latter were scattered in every direction, and eighty thousand bodies encumbered the ground. His friends urged Otho to continue the struggle.

¹ Dion Cassius, lxiv., 5, 6; Plutarch, *Galba*, xxi.-xxix.; Suetonius, *Galba*, 17, 19, 20; Tacitus, *Histor.*, i. 12-42.

² Between Cremona and Verona. The site of Bedriacum has never been exactly determined.

“One such battle should suffice,” he said, and leisurely, but with his wonted calm, he slew himself.¹ He had been in power only eighty-eight days, and he yielded place to a person of infamous renown, whose reign was to be but one long orgy. The name of Vitellius will last as long as time, but only as a term of reproach, to brand weaknesses lower even than those of Nero: disgusting excesses at the banquet board.

The East, though docile hitherto, was at last aroused by the never ending train of revolutions it was forced to submit to. Mucianus, who was then in command of the Syrian legions, was far too politic to risk a military uprising. But in his neighborhood was a man of harder temperament, Vespasian, sent by Nero to put down the Jews, and who had, in fact, driven them back into Jerusalem. This soldier's parentage, lowly as it was honest, was not calculated to excite rivalry, despite the fact that his long campaigns and his triumph in Britain left him without a peer among the generals of the world. Nor was he less distinguished for his integrity in the administration of government affairs. So poor was he on leaving his province of Africa that he was compelled to gain a livelihood by turning horse-dealer. No arm would seem more capable of recovering Rome and strangling the pernicious germs left there by the Saturnalia of Nero. No more than Mucianus, however, although for very different reasons, was Vespasian the man to attempt the enterprise; but he had with him his son Titus, a loftier spirit and one far bolder, who, discerning the straits the Empire had reached, would not fail in his duty. Mucianus, though not desirous of being Emperor himself, was not loath to have a hand in the making of one: he urged Titus to realize his plan, and tendered him all the influence of his name and credit in the East.

The most intimate, the most powerful of these influences brought to bear upon him was that of Berenice, sister

¹ Dion Cassius, xliv. 7-15; Suetonius, *Otho*, 5-11; Tacitus, *Histor.*, i 44-90; ii. 11-49; Plutarch, *Otho*.

of Agrippa II. The lovely Jewess had inspired an overmastering passion in the breast of Titus, and now pressed him to ascend the throne, always secretly cherishing the dream of sitting there beside him. To this end she spared no resource at her command: keen, wily, versed in the arts of intrigue, and of an irresistible charm of person, she won over to Vespasian the princes of Syria and all who were either allied to or connected with her family. The movement once set in motion spread to neighboring countries; Egypt yielded its allegiance; even the Parthians themselves offered their aid.¹

Vespasian himself had done absolutely nothing to win such a hazard of fortune: Titus and his supporters persuaded him at least to do nothing to thwart it; moreover, they took good care to work upon his mind by mysterious voices, Pagan oracles from Paphos and Carmel,² which kept repeating whithersoever he went that the "Master of the World" was about to come forth out of Judæa. The subjugated Jews who thronged the Roman camp were prodigal of similar predictions; the most illustrious among them, the historian Josephus, loaded with chains and brought before the conqueror, had addressed him only in the character of a prophet: "Do not thou send me unto Nero, keep me with you in fetters. Soon thou shalt be sovereign lord of the earth, of the sea, and the whole human race."³

Thus incited on every hand, Vespasian had but to permit himself to be elevated to the supreme power. Nevertheless he halted in Egypt until his legions from the East should have cleared the way before him. Mucianus marched at their head upon Rome; the army of the Danube, with which he intended to combine forces, anticipated him and invaded Italy, where the legions of Germany were drawn up in defence of their unhappy

¹ Tacitus, *Histor.*, ii. 73-81; Suetonius, *Vespasianus*, 1-5.

² Tacitus, *Histor.*, ii. 4-78; Dion Cassius, lxxv. 9; Suetonius, *Vespasianus*, 5.

³ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iii. iii. 3, 9; iv. x. 7; Suetonius, *Vespasianus*, 5; Dion Cassius, lxxvi. 1.

choice. Civil war now raged, and after awful scenes of carnage, victory rested with the Flavians. But at what a price! Cremona sacked, in Rome forty thousand corpses, the Capitol in flames, everywhere bloodshed and pillage. Vitellius, wallowing in the mire of his base enjoyments, at first had refused to notice anything or give a command; "like to those unclean animals who, once gorged with food, think only of sleeping."¹ Nor did he rouse himself from this torpor save for an instant of agitation, doomed to die as befitted him, covered with disgrace. He had taken refuge in a porter's lodge. The soldiers of Mucianus haled him forth and dragged him along the whole length of the Sacred Way, half naked, a rope around his neck, amid the insults and the mockeries of the populace. After this fashion they pushed and jostled him as far as the Gemonii, where he succumbed, hacked to pieces; thence the still quivering remnants, impaled on a hook, were cast into the Tiber.²

Thereafter Vespasian reigned without a rival, and very shortly with none to contest his right; for Mucianus knew well how to conciliate all parties, sparing the feelings of the vanquished, while restoring discipline in the army and order in Rome. When his able lieutenant arrived at Brundisium, together with the Senate, to receive the new Augustus, he gave into the hands of his lord an Empire, drained of blood and treasure, it is true, but glutted with revolution, and demanding no other boon save to breathe the air of peace and safety.

¹ "Vitellius . . . curis luxum obtendebat: non parare arma non alloquio exercitioque militem firmare, non in ore vulgi agere: sed umbraculis hortorum abditus, ut ignava animalia, quibus si cibum suggeras, jacent torpentque, præterita, instantia, futura, pari oblivione dimiserat." Tacitus, *Historiæ*, iii. 36.

² Suetonius, *Vespasianus*, 15-17; Dion Cassius, lxxv. 8-21; Tacitus, *Historiæ*, iii.

CHAPTER XIV.

VESPASIAN IN GALILEE AND JUDÆA.

FROM the incidents I have just been relating the reader may imagine what the four years which succeeded the burning of Rome must have been to the Christians of that city, — an unbroken series of alarms. Even when they were not involved in a general bloodshed, those convulsions which shook the world, the legions of the East and West met in mortal combat, the fearful state of confusion wherein it seemed that the Empire must crumble to the earth; all things, indeed, recalled to the minds of the believers those catastrophes foretold by the Master as the prelude to His return.¹ Many believed that the world had arrived at that “beginning of the great sorrow,”² to an overthrow of everything existing, whence were to arise “new heavens and a new earth wherein righteousness shall abide.”³

The advent of the Flavians dissipated this dream by proving that Rome was not arrived at the eve of its dissolution. On the contrary this Queen of the world retained sufficient vitality to further broaden her views, enlarge her form of government, and even find room for her Christian subjects, under certain conditions hard to be borne, it is true, but at least not insupportable. This they began to comprehend in proportion as the tolerance shown by the new heads of the State made itself more widely felt: their thoughts, wearied with meditating on the sudden and triumphant return of Jesus, began to be

¹ Matt. xxiv. 1-51; Mark xiii. 1-37; Luke xxi. 5-33.

² Mark xiii. 8.

³ 2 Peter iii. 13.

absorbed once more with that sole kingdom which the Saviour came to found, His Church, whose mission it is to regenerate the world, obscurely and slowly, through tedious centuries of toil and tribulation.

Peter and Paul had devoted their final moments on earth to fortifying this Divine society of souls, to endowing it with a stricter discipline and a well-ordered hierarchy, and consequently a more lasting form of government. Once reassured and fully informed as to the re-establishment of order throughout the Empire, the disciples began at last to realize what their teachers had tried to make them understand ere they were called from them. Though never forgetting that the Day of the Lord is to come unexpectedly, they now ceased to make this fact the one absorbing theme of consideration, and set about awaiting it, as it behoves us all to do, by devoting a large share of our efforts to the duties and cares of the present life. They sought after Jesus, no longer as though He were a phantom hovering over the distant horizon, but ever present in the Church, His visible Body here below. Thenceforth all their efforts were absorbed, as the Apostle's had been, in fortifying the Holy City wherein it behooved them to dwell until summoned thence by the Master, and in binding more closely together the numerous bodies of brethren composing it. Hereafter what place was to be occupied by Jerusalem in the company which these communities went to make up? Though hitherto known as the Mother Church, was she destined to sustain this character forever, remaining always the centre and metropolis of Christianity? On this point, likewise, the Flavians were commissioned by God to shed new and unlooked-for light. Their mission during this decisive phase of Christianity was so important that in order to present any adequate picture of it as a whole, we must go back a few years and resume our narrative of the insurrection at Jerusalem in 67.

The defeat of Cestius had but aggravated the situation of that unhappy city, for Rome, obeyed everywhere, could not remain quiet under the humiliating blow inflicted on

her by one of the smallest provinces of the Empire.¹ No wise or thoughtful Israelite could deceive himself as to the immanence of the danger or the impossibility of averting it. Where were the men to muster against those legions now about to invade Judæa thirsting for revenge? From the neighboring countries, all hostile to them,² there was no aid to be looked for. Messengers had been despatched to the Jews settled in the kingdom of the Parthians, and all throughout the East.³ Some responded to their appeal, but the majority displayed but little willingness to compromise themselves in so risky a business; still others had all they could do to defend themselves within their own borders, for the massacres had begun afresh upon the rumor that the victorious sedition was threatening all the lands lying roundabout. At Damascus, despite the fact that most of the women were affiliated to Mosaism, they slaughtered all the Jews: the sole precaution taken by the Pagans was to surprise their victims so suddenly as to preclude the possibility of any general tumult.⁴

Thus isolated, Jerusalem displayed only the greater ardor in preparing the defence; so overwhelming was the enthusiasm that even the moderate party yielded to it. At this juncture there was but one small group of Herodians who, out of their attachment to their princes, rejoined them, and thus took sides with the Romans.⁵ Did the party composed of politic and prudent Israelites thus make common cause with the Zealots out of the fulness of their hearts and without ulterior motives? did they, like the latter, foster the illusion that Heaven would perform a miracle in their defence? or was it solely with the hope of moderating the movement, and in the final instance

¹ "Augebant iras quod soli Judæi non cessissent." Tacitus, *Historiæ*, v. 1.

² In this war the neighboring kings of Syria and Palestine lent their aid to the Romans: Antiochus, King of Commagene, Sohemus of Emesa, and one of the Arabian chieftains named Malchus. Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iii. iv. 2.

³ Josephus, *Bell. Jud. Proem.* 2; vi. vii. 2; Dion Cassius, lxi. 4.

⁴ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xx. 2; *Vita*, 6.

⁵ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xx. 1; *Vita*, 6.

arranging a compromise with Rome? However this may be, there seemed at first no division of opinion among them. The Priestly aristocracy and the most learned Pharisees threw themselves into the struggle with the same ardor as did the Zealots. On every hand young men were being drilled; arms, machinery, and materials of war were being collected in all haste; Jerusalem and every hamlet in the land which could fortify itself, was shielded by ramparts; all Judæa rose up as one man to defend its Faith, its Temple, its national existence, unto the death.¹ The harmony existing between them was so complete and so unanimous during the first burst of patriotism that — and this is a rare thing in times of revolution — the government was constituted according to law and intrusted to the worthiest citizens. The sovereignty of the Sanhedrin was respected, the police and the urban administration were left in the hands of the customary magistrates. They did more than this: an assembly held in the Temple conferred all powers, so far as the government and preparation for war were concerned, on two men of the highest rank, Joseph ben Gorion, and Hanan (son of Annas, who condemned Jesus), the oldest of the High Priests.²

With such men standing at its front, the party of resistance could claim the suffrages of the very élite of the nation. The scholars and noted thinkers of Israel, Josue ben Gamala, Simeon ben Gamaliel, Hillel's grandson, the sacerdotal aristocracy, the upper middle classes, all, in fact, with one accord joined hands in the movement.

Their choice of governors for the provinces in like manner fell upon men of personal weight, moderate opinions, all accustomed to wield power. The historian Josephus was of this number; and, although his writings have given him more renown than his political career, none the less was the part he now took upon himself in this national war a glorious one; for to him was confided the position which was most exposed to the onslaughts of the

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iii. xxii. 1. ² *Ibid.*, *Bell. Jud.*, iii. xx. 3.

enemy, the land of Galilee.¹ The defence of this region was quite as difficult to organize as it was thereafter to maintain; for the country appeared very much divided as to the proper course to pursue. Its capital, Sephoris, called upon the Romans as with one voice.² The lower classes were mad partisans of the war in Tiberias, but the aristocracy remained faithful to Agrippa, sharing his conciliatory and peaceful views.³ At Giscala, the former bandit chieftain, named John, had set the people's minds aflame, and dreamed of becoming himself King of Galilee.⁴ Similar disorders were breaking out on the other side of the Jordan; bands of brigands were harrying the countryside, despoiling the towns, pillaging and massacring all who withstood them. There was no other way left for Josephus except to come to some agreement with these predatory bands; putting them on his pay-rolls he formed from their number a formidable wing of his army.⁵ Nor was it a lighter task to restore order, unity of plan and action in the towns with whose defence he had been intrusted. In all this he gave evidence of as much presence of mind as he did of diplomacy; triumphing by wily plots when a vigorous stroke would have ruined everything. By these means he succeeded in collecting together some three score thousand men and stationed garrisons in various places which he fortified: Jotapata, Tarichæa, Tiberias, Itabyrium, on the Thabor.⁶ Doubtless when compared with the legions of Rome these were but a heterogeneous mass of recruits, soldiers of fortune, scarce knowing the meaning of the word "discipline"; but their love of their native land was to render them capable of enduring all and of daring anything.

In the spring of the year 67 Vespasian proceeded to Antioch, where he organized the expedition confided to him. This prudent general had no idea of confronting

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xx. 4.

² *Ibid.*, *Vita*, 67, 71; *Bell. Jud.*, iii. iv. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, *Vita*, 9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Vita*, 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Bell. Jud.*, xxi. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xx. 6; *Vita*, 37.

the insurrectionists with other than an adequate equipment; for this reason his son, Titus, had braved the perils of a winter's voyage in order to bring him troops from Egypt.¹ This reinforcement put at his disposal three legions, twenty-three cohorts, a goodly number of auxiliaries,—in all, sixty thousand well disciplined men skilled in warfare, robust and well able to withstand the hardships of any campaign.

Putting himself at their head, Vespasian proceeded along the usual highway from Syria into Palestine along the sea-coast, and established his headquarters at Ptolemais (St. John of Acre). Sephoris was not far away from this first encampment. Realizing that it was now under protection, the town gave free utterance to its feelings and declared itself for Rome.² Gabara was not so prudent, and its hostility gave Vespasian an opportunity of making an example of it: the entire male population was put to the sword, the city and its suburbs were burned, and all that escaped death were doomed to slavery.³ But even more fearful to the souls of the inhabitants was the appearance of his legions among them. They found their way within the deepest valleys, marching in extended order and in close array, always as prompt to meet the foe as to answer the bugle-call. A host of scouts beat the country in front of them, and in their rear the auxiliary troops carried with them a formidable train of supplies and machinery of warfare.⁴ In vain did Josephus endeavor to arrest their progress; forsaken by the troops he had gathered together, ill-accustomed to war, he was fain to

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iii. iv. 2.

² *Ibid.*, *Bell. Jud.*, iii. ii. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, *Bell. Jud.*, iii. vii. 1. The existing text of Josephus has *Gadara*; τῇ πάλαι τῶν Γαδάρων. But in all probability *Gabara* is the proper reading. Cadara (the modern *Oummkeis*) is indeed located to the east of the Lake of Genesareth, and it is scarcely probable that Vespasian, at the outset of the expedition, should have pushed forward so far with his army. Gabara (*Kabarah*), on the contrary, being in close proximity to St. John of Acre, the Romans' first encampment, their first attack would naturally be directed at this city, one of the most important in the province. (Josephus, *Vita*, 25.) See Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, vol. iii., p. 87.

⁴ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iii. vi. 2.

beat a retreat towards Tiberias,¹ whereupon, seeing that they were about to attack Jotapata, he hastened thither to its defence.²

In all Galilee there was no citadel more difficult than this to carry.³ Located in the midst of mountains and forests, it stands upon a promontory connected on only one side with the neighboring heights, with so steep a declivity, and so deep withal that one can scarcely descry the depths of the ravines which encircle it.⁴ The most determined men among the Galileans, somewhere in the neighborhood of forty thousand, had taken refuge on this mountainous spur, which they regarded as impregnable, if not inaccessible. Vespasian, having learned from a deserter that Josephus was then in Jotapata, together with the picked men of his forces, massed all his troops, hoping thereby to crush the rebellion and its leader at one blow. When the besieged saw from afar their forests falling beneath the sappers' axe, they realized that they must either conquer or die.

Five assaults having been repulsed, Vespasian invested the city by a regular siege. A bulwark of stone and wood was constructed upon the ridge on that side where the circumvallation was approachable. This work, erected at great cost of lives, beneath a shower of darts, overtopped the ramparts and permitted the besiegers to control the town; but the Jews, who in a few days raised their walls, were once again under cover. Still further they succeeded in protecting themselves against the dreadful battering-ram by the aid of sacks of straw which deadened its blows. Even the "*turtle-back*," that unailing resource of the legionaries when every other method of attack failed, was of no avail against Jotapata. Boil-

¹ Josephus, iii. vi. 3.

² Ibid., iii. vii. 3.

³ In 1847 Shultz located, to the north of Sephoris, and in the modern village of *Jefat*, the site of ancient Jotapata. *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, vol. iii. p. 49 *et seq.*; 59 *et seq.*; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvi. 764-768; Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, iii., p. 105; Guérin, *Galilee*, i. pp. 476-487; *The Survey of Palestine*, Conder and Kitchener, i. 289, 311-313.

⁴ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. vii. 7.

ing oil poured in torrents upon the besiegers, rushed over their vault of shields¹ and consumed the legionaries.

Emboldened by these ineffectual attacks, Josephus and his soldiers suddenly became the aggressors. Sallying out, armed with torches, they fell upon the assaulters' outworks, and in a few hours destroyed gabionades, palings, wooden towers, and military engines of every description.

But that tenacious spirit of the Roman, which ever rose superior to any rebuff, speedily repaired the damage it had suffered. The overthrown battering-rams were re-erected, no matter how great the obstacles proffered on the part of their foes; day and night they kept on at their work, beating upon the walls. It happened one evening that, while Vespasian was directing their blows in person, a javelin struck him; overmastering the pain which he must have felt, he dashed through the breach made by his soldiers now made furious by the sight of his wounds. A terrible hand-to-hand encounter thereupon ensued and lasted until morning. The ballistæ exerted all their weapons against the ramparts, crushing men and walls alike beneath their shower of stones; the clash of arms and the battle cries of the combatants found their answer throughout the city in the frightened shrieks of women and children. At daybreak, when the soldiers' arms, tired of cutting and hacking, fell back listless, the blood of the besiegers lapped the base of the walls in great pools; thereabouts the dead were heaped one upon another so closely that upon these corpses one might climb over the outer walls: but within this blood-encircled enclosure, the Galileans still stood, unconquered nor yielding one whit, since they had found means of repairing the breach.

In despair of carrying the place by assault, Vespasian restricted all his efforts to keeping up the blockade, never ceasing, however, to harass his foes. He caused fifty

¹ This roof, which the soldiers formed with their shields raised together over their heads, allowed them to approach the walls and undermine them.

towers shielded by iron to be built, high enough to overlook the town and control it. On these towers his best bowmen were stationed, with orders to strike down whoever put his head above the ramparts. While very many of the besieged perished thus, hunger and thirst killed off many more. Both salt and water were lacking, and forty-seven days' struggle had exhausted their strength as well as their means of subsistence. From a deserter Vespasian was given to understand that their sentinels could not be relieved, and were so wearied that they were forced to sleep on post. One foggy night certain picked men of his force crept within the lines noiselessly, slaughtered the slumbering guards, and took possession of the citadel; after them came the whole army. On awakening, the town realized that it was doomed to death. Merciless was the massacre; neither women nor children were spared by the exasperated Romans. A little crowd of men took refuge in the furthestmost part of the city; when descried, and seeing they were overwhelmed by mere numbers, they killed one another.¹

Although the town was taken, it mattered nothing unless Josephus was made a prisoner. For three long days Vespasian searched for him in vain, but finally a woman betrayed him and disclosed the cave wherein he had concealed himself, together with forty of his partisans. The Roman general summoned him into his presence, and Josephus was fain to accede to his wishes; but his comrades in arms stood between them, declaring that nothing but death should separate them. Josephus was endowed with all the wily diplomacy inborn in his race, ever ready to extricate himself from the worst situations. He won over his fanatical followers to the idea that the greatest part they could play in the tragedy, would be to kill one another, drawing lots to decide which one should be first in the order of sacrifice. By shrewdly manipulating the ballots he managed to leave himself with but one other

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iii. vii. 4-36. See Parent, *Siège de Jotapata* (1866).

survivor, who it seemed was no more anxious to die than was his chief. But Josephus did not stop at this; unable to overcome the Romans by force of arms, he endeavored to circumvent them by Jewish diplomacy. Accordingly he turned at once, and without the least token of scrupulousness, from the maddest partisan of Jewry to a most respectful worshipper of Rome. When brought to the presence of the Flavians, he decked himself in the garb of a Prophet of his nation, disclosed to them that in the Oracles of Israel a glorious future awaited them, and thus wormed himself into their good graces. Speedily he became the bosom friend of Titus, and with him took part in the siege of Jerusalem, despised by his fellow-countrymen, it is true, but caring little or nothing for their respect. Luck seemed to him to be on the side of the Romans; and on the winning side, whichever it might be, he was always to be reckoned.¹

The taking of Jotapata put into Vespasian's hands all Galilee from the sea to the hither shore of the Lake of Genesareth; but on the opposite side stood Gamala,² a fortress not less impregnable, both on account of its site and on account of the courage of its defenders. As at Jotapata, their resistance was that of heroes, and their fate even more tragical. In this citadel, which was perched upon a craggy height rising from the heart of the city, the Jews, once brought to bay, their forces all exhausted, embraced their wives and children, then with their offspring in their arms, they flung themselves into the depths below. Only two women survived, not one child: the remnant of the living and wounded the Romans cast down from the tops of the walls.³

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iii. viii. 1-9; Suetonius, *Vespasianus*, 5; Dion Cassius, lxi. 1.

² Josephus locates Gamala in lower Gaulanitis on the lake over against Tarichæa (*Bell. Jud.*, iv. 1.) The height covered with ruins now known by the name of *Kala and Hasen*, on the eastern shore of the lake is the locality which corresponds best to these indications. Guérin, *Galilee*, i. 317-321; cf. Furrer, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina Vereins*, ii. 1879, pp. 70-72; xii. 1889, pp. 148-151; Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, 1881, pp. 161, 164, 168.

³ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iv. i. 2, 7.

Tiberias and Tarichæa fell victims to the same inexorable vengeance.¹ The citizens of these towns, near neighbors, had taken refuge in sailing-vessels. Putting himself at the head of a flotilla, Vespasian pursued and massacred them so furiously that the lake, as well as its shores, for a long time after, stank from the corruption of dead bodies. The rest of the insurgents had laid down their arms under a promise of safe conduct; but this time Vespasian smirched his high reputation by failing to keep faith. The wretched throng was driven into the Hippodrome of Tiberias and there cut out like a bunch of cattle; twelve hundred of them were aged and infirm: these they slaughtered; six thousand of the more robust were sent off to Nero to help dig out the Isthmus of Corinth; thirty-six thousand four hundred were sold as slaves.² Everywhere when the inhabitants hesitated about swearing allegiance, they were exterminated by Vespasian at once, and in harmony with his preconceived policy.

In all Galilee there was but a single outpost which had not been disarmed. This was Giscala;³ not indeed that the peasant population of this town evinced any special longing to enter upon a hopeless struggle, but rather because they dreaded most their leader, an adventurer and a fellow-townsmen, John, the son of Levi. The hordes of insurgents who had flocked to his standard were capable of going to the last extremity if a sudden onslaught was attempted to inflame their wrath. Happily for Giscala, Titus was the one intrusted with the task of reducing the town. With his wonted moderation he began by

¹ Tarichæa stood some thirty stadia to the south of Tiberias; the Arab village of *Kharbet-el-Kerab* marks its site. Guérin, *Galilee*, i., pp. 275 *et seq.*; Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, ii. 387; Ritter, *Erkunde*, xv. 1, 344 *et seq.*; Conder, *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statements*, 1878, pp. 190-192.

² Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iii. x. 1-10.

³ The hamlet known to-day as *El-Djich*, situated to the north of Safed on the heights above Lake Meron, has preserved the name of Giscala. "The plateau covered by it is elevated some six hundred feet above the lake; nowadays it is planted with vineyards, fig-trees, and olive orchards, and divided into a large number of separate fields." Guérin, *Galilee*, vol. ii, p. 96; cf. Conder, *The Survey of Western Palestine*, i. 198, 224-226.

offering the city very advantageous terms of capitulation, and these John accepted, for it offered him an opportunity of marching out of the city which he had found great difficulty in controlling, and of betaking himself to a territory better adapted to his mode of warfare. Making sharp use of the occasion, he managed to find time to slip through the fingers of the Romans; pretending that he was a scrupulous observer of the Law, he asked that his surrender might not take place on the same day, which happened to be the Sabbath. Titus did not confine his clemency to merely granting this respite, but together with his troops withdrew into the neighboring city of Cydissa.

About midnight, John, seeing that the highways were left open to him, and no Roman outposts at hand to sound an alarm, crept out with his companions and all those citizens of Giscala who were loath to be delivered into the hands of the enemy; even the wives and children of the latter followed in his rear. He speedily realized that the latter were retarding his flight, and gave orders that they should be abandoned by the wayside. A useless sacrifice this, for Titus' cavalry overtook him and killed six thousand of his men. Only with the greatest difficulty did he manage to escape with a handful of his troopers and take refuge in Jerusalem.¹ This was in the last months of 67; Vespasian and Titus went into winter quarters at Cæsarea, deferring the final blow of their campaign till the following year.

They were well aware, however, that the suspension of actual hostilities would work to their advantage, and that the only profit that the Jews would make of it would be to foment internal dissensions. For difference of opinion, waxing daily more acute, had indeed succeeded their unanimity during the early days of the war. Hanan and the leaders of the aristocracy elected to office with him, had too much common-sense not to recognize, on sober second thought, that for them to put themselves

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iv. ii. 1-5.

against Rome was sheer madness. Working by under-hand means, they sought to calm down their over-excited spirits and retard their preparations for defence. Although they were informed of the fact that Galilee was in its last extremities, they did not so much as raise a hand to aid it. The more enthusiastic minds, suspecting this double play, shuddered at the thoughts, and their number increased constantly; for the progress made by the Romans in the North was constantly driving before them numbers of malcontents in the direction of the Holy City. Accordingly, when the prime leader of the resistance, John of Giscala, appeared at the gates of Jerusalem, a horrified throng flocked to greet him. John understood full-well that what his fellow-countrymen desired was not fruitless lamentations, but bold, nay, presumptuous speech, which alone in moments of disaster can reawaken men's hopes. And so, although his little band was still breathless and plainly exhausted, he brazened it all out, declaring that neither he nor his men were fugitives, but were simply come to seek a more advantageous post of battle. "What, forsooth, were the hamlets of Galilee that he should spend his forces for them? Before all, it behooved him to help save the mother city! As for the Romans, there was no need to fear anything from that quarter; he had watched their machines as they broke in pieces against the walls of Giscala, while they themselves were easily entrapped by the most childish stratagems of war: unless they grew wings in the meantime they would not find an entrance into Sion." ¹

The wiser ones among them trembled on hearing the shouts of acclamation which greeted his speech; it meant that the reins of power were slipping from their grasp; that Jerusalem was doomed to be divided anew into two irreconcilable parties, — and not only the Holy City, but all the towns roundabout. Everywhere, indeed, a majority of the citizens were in favor of yielding as best they could. But that very timidity which led them to prefer

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iv. iii. 1.

peace, made them submit to the enraged throng which clamored for war. Soon these fanatics were no longer content to terrify their fellow-citizens: sallying forth from the towns where they dwelt, they formed into bands and scoured the countryside, proclaiming that it was their mission to seek out and punish all traitors. Using this as their pretext, it was easy for them to spread red-handed pillage and incendiarism in every direction. Jerusalem was where they foregathered whenever they were weary of ravaging the country roundabout. From every hand they hastened thither, and at once joining the war party, they contributed that leaven of savagery which daily waxed more powerful; little by little the Zealots proceeded to more daring acts of violence. It was not long before they began to usurp the authority of the magistrates, inventing and then attaching long lists of suspected persons. Men of the highest rank, and among them three members of Herod's family, were after this fashion thrown into prison, and shortly after put to death.¹

No remonstrance being made on the part of the populace against these outrages, the hot-headed enthusiasts were encouraged to proceed to still more daring deeds of lawlessness; they were emboldened to lay hands on the Pontificate, thereby hoping to obtain complete mastery. By isolating the noble families whose right it had been for many a long day to furnish the High Priest from out their number, the fanatics conceived the idea of having the High Priest chosen by lot, and that from one of the lowliest branches of the Levitical tribe. This was equivalent to abandoning themselves to blind chance and to incurring the risk of the most humiliating complications. The lot fell upon a rustic brought up on the farm, utterly incapable of comporting himself with dignity and respectability in the position to which he was elevated against his will, despite the sumptuous vestments in which they dressed him up. The clownish bearing of

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iv. iii. 2-6.

the unfortunate man excited the laughter of the people ; but such a piece of buffoonery overstepped the limits, and a reaction set in.¹

Hanan profited by this turn in the tide of popular feeling to bar the way before these madmen who were doing their best to ruin everything. This High Priest, as shrewd as he was resolute, was the one man able to have saved Jerusalem had he lived ; at least his is the honor of having tried to do so. Terrified at seeing him take this stand against them, the Zealots took refuge in the Temple, whereupon Hanan convoked a general assembly of the city whereof he was the lawfully elected head, and he set forth to them the disgrace of submitting to a tyranny worse than that of the Romans. The latter had at least respected the Sanctuary of Israel ; the Zealots had used it as a barracks, as a hospital for their wounded, and as the scene of their worst disorders. Turning his eyes filled with tears toward the Temple, he spoke of it to them in words of such heart-broken grief that the people besought him to lead them forthwith against the defilers. Hanan was arming them for the attack, whereupon the Zealots, now forewarned, flung themselves upon this mass of men as yet not organized to resist them, and at the first assault drove them back ; but in their turn yielding to superiority of numbers, they were forced back into the Temple. The assailants entered with them, and took possession of the first enclosure, that vast esplanade open to the Gentiles. Hanan, now soiled with blood, as were also those with him, durst not press forward any further within that part of the Sanctuary, which no Israelite might enter without first purifying himself. He was content with investing these inner porches, and that so closely that the besieged, in despair of finding any exit, summoned to their aid the Idumæans.²

A strange recourse this on the part of the self-styled Zealots of the Law ; for the name of Edom was and still

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iv. iii. 8 ; cf. Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire de la Palestine*, p. 269.

² Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iv. iii. 7-12.

is to-day, held in abomination by Israel. Yet no other hope was left them, and they knew they were sure of being heard. Full well did they know what to expect from them, for in their forays they had many a time encountered those wandering hordes, more like brigands than shepherds, in every respect similar to the Bedouins of our day. Like the latter, the descendants of Esau, half Jewish, and half savage, always panted for the fray ; they rushed to the combat as if it were a festival. Their chieftains needed but to sound the war-cry in the mountain passes of Idumæa, and in a few days twenty thousand men, gathered together at their call, were marching under their command and appeared before the walls of Jerusalem. The city, taken by surprise, had barely time to close its gates.

The Idumæans were not the men to relinquish their prey : though repulsed by Hanan, they pitched their tents below the walls and awaited their opportunity. This occasion a tempest and the blackness of night combined to offer them. The hurricane swept down with an unheard-of violence ; the solid earth shook under the impact of wind and thunderbolts. Taking advantage of the uproar, certain Zealots sawed down the gates of the enclosure wherein they were blockaded, and traversed the Court of the Gentiles : the only thought of the sentinels had been to seek shelter from the cyclone. Thus unhindered they managed to reach the gates of the city, forced them open, and joining forces with the Idumæans, with them re-entered Jerusalem. Thereafter it was merely a question of penetrating within the outer porches of the Temple by piercing the lines which the Zealots held in durance. Six thousand men had been intrusted with the investment ; but dumfounded by this furious and unexpected attack from without, they fled, giving themselves up for lost and throwing away their arms. The majority were slain, powerless to escape ; others, mad with terror, leaped from the lofty walls of the Temple, down into the town below, and were dashed to pieces. One group of young men alone retaining their presence

of mind, engaged the foe in combat, but soon, surrounded on all sides, they too were slaughtered pitilessly.

When the day broke, eight thousand five hundred corpses were to be seen strewn over the Porches of the Gentiles; their blood streamed down in rivulets; all Jerusalem was plunged in dreadful grief and terror; this was the opportunity the Idumæans were waiting for to loot and ravage. The High Priests, Hanan and Jesus, son of Gamala, had been marked out for their vengeance as the two arch-traitors who had tried to deliver Judæa over to Rome; by dint of long seeking they discovered their hiding-place, slew them, and cast their bodies to the dogs and vultures. Such an outrage had never been heard of in Israel, where the most miserable criminals received the rites of burial on the very evening of their execution: it shows the depths of the abyss in which the city was striving.

With Hanan disappeared the last vestige of lawful government in Jerusalem, the last hope of salvation. Massacres followed in swift succession. Scouring the streets, the Zealots and Idumæans killed all such as came under the ban of their suspicion: the lower classes swiftly and on the spot; men of high birth, youths especially, after the most cruel ordeals; most of them, thrown into prison, were constrained by torture to take sides with the rebels or perish after frightful suffering. Twelve thousand persons, the most noble and most highly respected in the city, succumbed during these dreadful days.¹

The Idumæans, however, were not blinded by the same hatred, the same fanaticism, as were the Zealots. They speedily came to recognize the fact that the Romans were not before the city gates, as they had been led to believe, but that they themselves had been summoned there simply to insure the triumph of a faction. Disgusted with the part assigned them and with the bloodshed which inundated them, they decided to return to their mountain

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iv. iv. 1-7; v. 1-3.

homes; but this they would not do until they had first opened wide the prison doors. Perchance they believed that thereby they were repairing in part the deeds of violence in which they had been accomplices; in reality they reinforced their allies, the abettors of murder, by some two thousand hired assassins.¹

Jerusalem had small need of such recruits. Nevertheless, at the departure of the Idumæans, the city began to breathe again and to pick up some little hope; but the Zealots lost no time in dissipating their illusions on this score; the massacres began again. Too great freedom of speech caused the downfall of Gorion, a man of illustrious birth. Neither his preference for a popular form of government nor his liberal views preserved him from the daggers of the fanatics. Quite as unjustly perished Nicolas of Peræa, the ablest military tactician in Judæa, and who had played a leading part in the defeat of Cestius. As he was dragged along the streets of Jerusalem he displayed the honorable wounds he had received in their defence, but in vain. He died calling down upon his executioners famine, pestilence, and the mailed fist of Rome, exclaiming that he hoped they might slaughter one another.²

While uttering these invectives, Nicolas might have foreseen their fulfilment; for even then the Zealots' party was broken up into factions: John of Giscala had been intriguing for some time among these and the partisans of peace, although both from past experiences and his own natural bent, he must have leaned towards the peace party. Without much outward demonstration he determined upon the part he would take; and stealing in, so to say, within the ranks of the contending parties, he succeeded in overmastering them by the same means which had served him so well at Giscala, — by either misleading or frightening them. When the Idumæans quitted Jerusalem, John was already in command of an armed company altogether independent of the Zealots; though,

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iv. v. 5; vi. 1.

² *Ibid.*, iv. vi. 1.

like the troops of the latter, their whole activity was confined to proscribing and massacring the poor people.¹ Thus the Holy City rested under the weight of a twofold tyranny: soon a third was to come to crown and complete their miseries.

As we have seen,² when Cestius was defeated a troop of maddened Zealots had taken possession of Masada on the shores of the Dead Sea, and made this impregnable fortress their retreat.³ One of the robber chieftains well known throughout the countryside, Simon-ben-Gioras, had set himself up as their lord and master. Though far less gifted with intelligence than was John of Giscala, this bandit overawed his followers by his lofty stature and headlong bravery. As much and even more than his fellow insurrectionist, John, had been in Galilee, he was the very soul of the rebellion throughout the southern districts of the province. Forty thousand volunteers, drawn about his standard by his ever-increasing renown, had grouped themselves about the little band which he had from the first trained and disciplined in warfare. Together they formed a horde of fanatics ready to follow their leader blindly. First they ravaged Idumæa, then sacked Hebron, burning and laying waste everything in their path. The terrified Zealots rose to arms and endeavored to withstand them. Though repulsed at the first encounter, they succeeded in capturing one of Simon's wives and held her as a hostage. The maddened bandit proceeded to the very walls of Jerusalem, torturing and slaying whomsoever came in his path; whereupon he cut off the hands of the majority of his prisoners and then sent them inside the city walls bidding them to say that Simon had sworn before God to treat all the inhabitants of the town in like manner. Every one knew that he was a man of his word: immediately his wife was restored to him, and he withdrew his troops for the while, but only to return speedily to encamp beneath the walls.

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iv. iii. 13; vii. 1.

² Chapter IX.

³ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iv. vii. 2.

Oftentimes some pressing danger will suggest some strange means to banish it. The moderate party, first overwhelmed by the Zealots, but now seeing them in turn fearful of Simon's robber band, conceived the plan of appealing to the latter in order to overcome their oppressors. Nor was this resolution taken under the influence of a sudden panic, as one might be tempted to think; rather it was the result of a debate calmly conducted by the High Priests themselves. One of them, named Matthias, was intrusted with the lofty function of sealing the alliance and of escorting the sham allies within the Upper City. This was equivalent to abandoning the last stronghold left in their hands. Thereafter poor Jerusalem was left to the mercy of a robber chief.¹

All these lamentable happenings were speedily reported in the Roman camp. Every one of his staff officers urged Vespasian to take advantage of these dissensions to make an attack upon Jerusalem.

"Wait, wait!" he answered; "wait a bit, and these fools will destroy one another. By attacking them we shall only bring about an end to their discords. God is a wiser leader than I am; and 'tis He that fights for us and will deliver unto us the enemy when exhausted and brought to naught."²

This system of warfare he kept up during the two years which succeeded the submission of Galilee: making slow advances; occupying all the outposts whence Jerusalem might hope for aid; driving before him the robber hordes; taking good heed, however, not to exterminate them, but rather encouraging them by every means to foment rebellion and thus enclose the doomed city in a network of its own making. Now master of the Mediterranean sea-coast, he re-conquered all the land east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea and subjugated Idumæa; then, leading his troops up toward the Holy City, he took possession one by one of the outposts which encircled it: Lydda, Emmaus, Jericho.³ During the month of July, 69, the

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iv. ix. 3-12.

² *Ibid.*, iv. vi. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, iv. iii. 2; vii. 3-6; viii. 1; ix. 1.

insurrectionists held but three isolated fortresses in the neighborhood of the Dead Sea. The Roman invasion creeping up on all sides was now enclosing the city. Vespasian's horsemen were already aiming their arrows against the sentinels on the ramparts, with no one to impede them. He had made all arrangements for beginning the siege, when his sudden elevation to the throne occurred and thus retarded the destruction of the Holy City for a few months.¹

The unhappy town was no longer capable of utilizing this last respite afforded it to plead for truce, or to strengthen its fortifications; the city was at the mercy of numberless factions. Even the Temple, on the eve of its destruction, had become a field of battle. From the heights of Mount Moriah the Zealots, with their leader Eleazar, still remained sole masters of the holy enclosure of both the Sanctuary and the Inner Porches. With six thousand of his followers, John of Giscala was camping in the wide spaces of the Gentiles' Court, while Simon, with his ten thousand brigands, held possession of the Hill of Sion.

These three bodies of men, now collected within their own fortified positions, were merely bent on destroying one another; each day occurred new hand-to-hand encounters. Oftenest Simon was the aggressor. He realized full well that Jerusalem would not be his until he had captured the Temple,—that very hearthstone and soul of the Holy City. All his efforts, however, were powerless when directed against the lofty walls of God's Sanctuary. Even more than the prodigious elevation of these ramparts, did the presence there of John of Giscala render them impregnable. Not content with repulsing the assaults of Simon, he pursued his troops into the Lower City, taking advantage of these sallies to re-victual his men. This he did, not as a friend, but as a ravaging foe, spreading havoc among the poor folk who had taken refuge thereabouts, and now beheld their houses sacked

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iv. ix. 2.

during these street fights, while the provisions which they had stored up for a siege were either pillaged or destroyed by fire.¹

Happily for these unfortunate creatures, John dared not hazard such sorties as these except upon occasions when he knew that the Zealots were either weary of fighting or steeped in wine, since he himself had need to be on his watch against the foe.

The Zealots, indeed, had all the advantages of position, and from the upper terraces of the Temple sent down a shower of arrows upon the Galileans who were crowded into the first enclosure. John knew of no better way of repelling their attacks than by use of his catapults and balistæ. Rocks thrown by these machines of war not only laid low the soldiers of Eleazar, but falling into the very heart of the Sanctuary, crushed down both priest and victim before God's altar; for even amid the worst of these sanguinary strifes the Holy Sacrifice was still offered. By common consent the Galileans and the Zealots had allowed free entrance to each and every Israelite who wished to approach the Sanctuary to perform some rite of his religion. No one, however, penetrated therein without realizing that he held his life in his hands; nay, more, a thrill of horror must have seized them on beholding God's House stained with blood, and the Sacred Porches encumbered with dead bodies, which none durst so much as touch.

A similar state of desolation, moreover, reigned throughout the whole city; the people were all a prey to this overwhelming terror, though not daring so much as to whisper their fears, since the slightest sign of discouragement on their part was treated as a crime. Nor was there longer any opportunity to flee for refuge to the Romans: all exits were guarded, and whoever ventured an escape was slain on the spot.² Strict as was this surveillance, a considerable number of the citizens managed to make good their flight; these were the Christians of the Holy

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, v. 1-3.

² Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, v. 1-5.

City.¹ It is well known how exceedingly dear Jerusalem was to them; up to the end they had remained steadfast in this feeling, considering that nowhere else might they adore Jesus so well as within the Temple. Their grief equalled that of the Jews when they beheld their common sanctuary desecrated by so many murders, and realized that they must needs forego their customary ascent thither for daily prayer. Yet that prophecy of the Lord came back to their memories:—

“When you shall behold the abomination of desolation established within the Holy Place.² . . . When you shall behold the hosts encompassing Jerusalem, know that its ruin is nigh. Then let them that are in Judea flee into the mountains, and let them that are in Jerusalem withdraw therefrom, and let not them who are in the fields enter therein. For thereupon shall ensue the days of vengeance. . . . Woe to the women with child and them that give suck in those days, for there shall be then great affliction throughout the land, and wrath shall fall upon this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword and shall be led away captive into all nations, and Jerusalem shall be trodden under foot by the Gentiles.”³

So clear and precise was this Oracle of God that none could fail to recognize its fulfilment. If we are to believe St. Epiphanius, an Angel was sent from Heaven to confirm them in this belief, and to announce to the leading men of the congregation that the hour for flight had come.⁴

The Mother Church did indeed merit the honor of some such divine warning; for its piety, bigoted though it may have seemed, was nevertheless sincere and ever amenable

¹ Ἡνίκα ἔμελλεν ἡ πόλις ἀλίσκεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων . . . τῆς πόλεως μελλούσης ἄρδην ἀπόλλυσθαι. St. Epiphanius, *De mensuris et ponderibus*, 15 (cf. *Hæres*, xxix. 7.) These words would seem to indicate that the flight of the Christians took place during the period immediately preceding the definite investment of the city by Titus; it may likewise be noticed that I am a little more specific in my statements here than in *The Christ the Son of God*, book vi. chap. iii.

² Matt. xxiv. 15.

³ Luke xxi. 20-24.

⁴ St. Epiphanius, *De Mensuris*, 15; *Hæc.*, xxix. 7; Eusebius, *Histor. eccles.*, iii. 5.

to any commands from on High. So now all departed forthwith at the call of their Pastors, hastily, nor even casting one backward glance. The Saviour had bidden them pray that their flight should not encounter any obstacle, that it should take place neither in the winter nor on the Sabbath day.¹ Doubtless the congregation of Saints, instructed by James, must have been instant in beseeching this favor, and powerful enough with God to obtain it. During those dreadful days when Simon with his robber horde had turned upon John of Giscala, in the excitement of their encounters and the exhaustion which was their natural sequel, the watch kept on the city gates must have been less rigorous. In all likelihood they took advantage of some such hour of relaxation to make good their escape. One day of rapid marching would suffice to reach and cross the Jordan; once on the other side the Christians needed no longer fear any pursuit on the part of the Zealots. Nevertheless, they saw fit to increase the distance between them and Jerusalem, and pushed on toward the north into Decapolis. Their leaders, by a happy choice, had designated Pella² as the place of refuge where they should forgather.

This town and Scythopolis were the only two free cities in that region, but Pella had the advantage of being without a Roman garrison, and hence quieter and more retired. Its site is an admirable one, built upon a highland, elevated some thousand feet above the Jordan Valley; while plentiful springs dash down in waterfalls into the ravines roundabout. The delightful character of the region had attracted thither many of Alexander's veterans, who gave it the name of a market town in

¹ Matt. xxiv. 20.

² The modern *Kharbet Fahil*. The vast ruins hereabout cover a beautiful platform beneath which a stream gushes forth, "which not being, as then it was, channelled out and divided into various waterways, to irrigate the orchards first, and then the fields, now spreads itself over an extremely fertile valley which it has changed into a marsh covered with a dense thicket of rushes, agnus castus, laurel-roses, and willows, the lair of numberless wild boars." Guérin, *Galilee*, i. pp. 289 *et seq.*; cf. Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, iii. 320-325; Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, pp. 442-447.

Macedonia, their general's native place.¹ Thenceforth Pella had been more Pagan than Jewish in character. In vain did Alexander Jannæus, in his anger at their refusal to participate in the Judaic rites, put the town to the sword;² once restored by the Romans, it remained thereafter a Syrian city.³ The refugees from the Mother Church found peace and tolerance, and from their coign of vantage could contemplate the dying throes of poor Jerusalem, whence God had rescued them. Surely no spectacle could have filled their hearts with deeper grief, and yet none was so needful to convince them that but one Israel was destined to abide forever, an Israel, not of the flesh, but of the spirit, — "The Israel of God."⁴

¹ Georges Syncelle, p. 274, Paris ; Stephen of Byzantium, Meineke's ed.

v. *Δῖον, πόλις . . . Κόλλης Συρίας, κτίσμα Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Πέλλα.*

² Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, i. iv. 8 ; *Antiq. Jud.*, xxiii. xv. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, *Bell. Jud.*, i. vii. 7 ; *Antiq. Jud.*, xiv. iv. 4.

⁴ Galat., vi. 16.

CHAPTER XV.

THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

ON his elevation to the throne Vespasian left Cæsarea and repaired in all pomp to Beyrout, Antioch, and Alexandria, one after another. His son Titus accompanied him.¹ The absence of the leaders of the expedition naturally caused suspension of hostilities, and for several months permitted free access to Jerusalem. During this short respite the fever which had been consuming the city seemed to have been lowered a little in temperature; as the approach of the Passover-tide brought with it some sort of truce between the factions, the Jews were quick to profit thereby to flock thither from all parts unto the great feast of their nation. Although the throngs appear to have been less numerous than in years of peace, when the number of the pilgrims sometimes reached three millions,² still it was so considerable that the city, which on ordinary occasions contained about one hundred thousand souls, held six times that number when Titus returned to invest it. As usual, this mass of people had camped about the walls. On the approach of the Romans they rushed within the gates, some moved by fear, others by fanaticism, but all alike doomed thenceforth to the same fearful fate.

Titus had only been waiting for the close of the stormy season to permit of his leaving Alexandria. During the month of March, 70, some time before the Jewish Passover,³ he had betaken himself to Cæsarea, there to take his

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iv. x. 6 ; xi. 1 ; Tacitus, *Histor.*, ii. 81-83.

² Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. xiv. 3 ; vi. ix. 3.

³ Hoffmann, *De imperatoris Titi temporibus recte definiendis*, pp. 19, 20. The Jewish Passover, according to the calculation made by M. l'Abbé Mémair, occurred in the year 70 on the 14th of April. *La connaissance des temps évangéliques*, chap. v., pp. 429, 431, 435, 507 et seq.

place at the head of his troops. An imposing body of men had been massed together: there were the three legions but lately commanded by Vespasian; there was the famous Twelfth, come thither from Antioch and burning to avenge its defeat under Cestius; there were twenty cohorts from the Syrian towns, and a large squadron of cavalry from Arabia.¹ Together they formed a formidable army, — some fifty thousand men most ably generalled; for Titus, while more politic and less harsh than his father, was quite his equal in handling military forces, and exceeded him in the art of besieging. There were valiant officers on his staff, and among them many Jews of note who had rallied around his standard at Rome and now shared his headquarters; there was Agrippa, the historian Josephus, and Tiberius Alexander, who held the high rank of Prefect of the Pretorium near his person.²

Gabaath-Saul,³ lying nearly four miles from Jerusalem, had been selected as the rendezvous for the various detachments. Titus hastened on ahead with six hundred horsemen, to reconnoitre the approaches to the region, and came very near losing his life in the venture. Seeing the gates of the city closed, and no one either without the walls or on the ramparts, he spurred on unsuspectingly; suddenly a swarm of Jews swept down upon him and separated him from his escort. He had barely time to urge his horse fiercely through the affray in hand-to-hand fight and make good his escape beneath a shower of darts.⁴ A few days later another sortie, quite as unexpected, cast panic into the ranks of the Tenth Legion while occupied in pitching their camp. Titus, rushing up in the midst of the confusion, found this picked body of

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, v. i. 6; Tacitus, *Histor.*, v. 1.

² Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigraphica*, vol. v., p. 578; *Hermes*, Bd. xix. 1884, p. 644 *et seq.*; Léon Renier: *Mémoire sur les officiers qui assistèrent au conseil de guerre tenu par Titus, avant de livrer l'assaut du temple de Jerusalem*. In the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vol. xxvi., 1867, pp. 264-321. Cf. Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigraphica*.

³ The modern *Tell-el-Foul* (Hill of Beans). Cf. Guérin, *Samarie*, vol. i., p. 188 *et seq.*; Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, vol. i., pp. 577-579.

⁴ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, v. ii. 1-2.

men routed by the suddenness of the shock. With great difficulty he managed to rally them about him, but was forced to prolong the combat that whole day before quiet was once more restored.¹ The intrepidity shown by the Jews in these first skirmishes, and their audacity in attempting them, awakened the Romans to the fact that they had entered upon a relentless war. All their reckoning based upon the hope that the dissensions existing among the besieged would weaken their resistance, now proved to be altogether at fault; every disagreement was forgotten as soon as it became a question of attacking or repelling their common foe. Eleazar, John, and Simon had joined together in preparing the sortie made upon the Tenth Legion and had conducted it in concert. Furthermore, circumstances had reduced to two the three factions which had hitherto divided the city. The Galileans profiting by the free entrance permitted to pilgrims during the Passover, had found their way with them into the Sanctuary and had succeeded in subjugating the Zealots. Thus, then, John, now holding possession of the entire Temple, and Simon intrenched upon the Hill of Sion, were left sole masters of Jerusalem.²

Titus, put on his guard by the dangers run during the earlier engagement, left nothing neglected which would prevent in future any such unforeseen attacks. A screen of orchards and woodland separated the walls of the city from Mount Scopus, whereon the Roman army was encamped; as the trees and gardens, then green and flourishing, impeded military operations, he ordered them cut down, and levelled the outlying land up to the very foot of the ramparts.³ Now free and secure in prosecuting his manœuvres on this denuded soil, he pushed up closer

¹ *Ibid.*, v. ii. 4.

² Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, v. iii. 1; Tacitus, *Histor.*, v. 12.

³ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, v. iii. 2. The olive trees, always revered in the Garden of Gethsemane as witnesses of the Saviour's agony, may have escaped this devastation. Standing as they did in the lower valley, they could not interfere with the manœuvres of the Romans as did the trees which Titus ordered to be cut down, these lying for the most part to the north of the town.

and located his headquarters close to the Psephina tower;¹ another division of his army he posted on a level with the high tower of Hippicus;² the Tenth Legion he stationed on the Mount of Olives. Thus he encompassed the whole northern part of the city, the only side where it offered any chance of capture, since everywhere else its walls overlooked steep gorges, rendering them absolutely inaccessible.

Quite as much as this formidable wall, did the site itself of Jerusalem, rising in terraces upon a group of hills, make it one of the most strongly fortified positions known to antiquity. From the heights of Scopus it appeared to be cut in two by a ravine which ran from north to south, the so-called Tyropœon. To the east of this valley stands Mount Moriah, crowned with the stronghold Antonia, and the Temple; to the west the highest crest of Jerusalem, Sion, the ancient city of David. The lower quarter of Acra extended from the foot of this hill to the northward; further on in the same direction was Bezetha, the vast suburb which Agrippa had but recently reunited with the Holy City. Each of these regions possessed its own walls, thus making five strongholds, Bezetha, Acra, Antonia, the Temple, and Sion, which the Romans must needs carry one by one.³

Titus knew well the weak spot in this line of ramparts, — between the present gate of Damascus and the tower of Psephina. Hereabout Agrippa had been unable to give to the walls of Bezetha the dimensions he had planned, which would have rendered them impregnable; fearful of future trouble, Rome had checked his cherished scheme.⁴ Nevertheless, as it was, it presented an ob-

¹ This tower, seventy cubits high (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, v. iv. 3). crowned the corner formed by the ramparts of Jerusalem to the northeast.

² In the citadel of Jerusalem the Tower of David marks the site of that of Hippicus.

³ Menke, *Bibelatlas*, Bl. v.; Zimmermann, *Karten und Plane zur Topographie des Alten Jerusalem*; Wilson, *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem during 1864-1865*. See in *The Christ the Son of God*, vol. i., Appen. i., *Jerusalem and the Temple*.

⁴ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, v. iv. 2.

stacle so serious as to necessitate a systematic attack. Three earth embankments, held up by fascines and logs, were raised little by little to the level of the walls; over these they rolled up the moving towers which were to overlook the ramparts and cover the approach of the battering-rams. At the outset the resistance would seem to have been as vigorous as the attack. Unused to the handling of balistæ, the Jews preferred a hand-to-hand encounter, and swept down in torrents upon the foe. Once and again did the legions sway back before the fury of these sallies; their machines of war were burned, and one of their wooden towers felled. None the less steadily did their battering-rams beat against the walls, and on the fifteenth day they succeeded in effecting a wide breach.¹

Through this the Roman army entered unchecked; exhausted by two weeks of sanguinary struggle, the besieged did not so much as try to make a stand against the enemy, but evacuated the vast enclosure of Bezetha, to shut themselves up in that of Acra, their second line of fortification. Here the breach took less time to accomplish, since after five days' labor the bugle sounded the assault, but the defence became only the more deadly. Step by step the Jews disputed the ground in the narrow streets and alleys of these lower quarters; it cost the legions a full five days' more fighting before they were masters of Acra.²

The two lines of fortifications carried after such prodigious labors put the Romans in possession of the lower part of the city only; all the Upper City remained to conquer. Seated proudly on their three hills, Sion, the Temple, and Antonia formed as many immense citadels, so lofty and so steep that they might well discourage the most daring. On every side Sion frowned down upon them from its lofty perch; the wall above its crest was arranged in jutting and retiring angles in such wise as to leave the enemy's flank always exposed.³ In front rose

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, v. vi. 2; vii. 2. ² Ibid. v. vii. 3-4; viii. 1-2.

³ Tacitus, *Histor.*, v. 11; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, v. iv. 1-3.

the Temple, fortified still more carefully; the piece of wall left undestroyed at the foot of Haram shows us to this day what must have been the strength of the ramparts erected in similar warlike pomp up to the very summit. The Porches alone which crowned the heights would have sufficed to constitute a formidable line of defence.¹

To order an immediate attack upon such gigantic works as these would have been madness. This Titus realized the more, seeing how his legions were losing spirit on recognizing that the foe was more enthusiastic than ever, and that his retreat was impregnable. Accordingly he gave his worn-out troops a few days' rest, and profited by it to review in person all the regiments in his command. The pretext alleged for this manœuvre, which he bade be made as imposing as possible, was his desire to distribute among the soldiers their pay; his real motive, however, was to restore confidence to the legions in themselves, and to overawe Jerusalem by this spectacular deployment of the forces destined to overcome it. When he deemed the desired effect had been produced he sent Josephus as his envoy to propose honorable terms of surrender to the besieged, but their only answer was jeers and words of bitter sarcasm.² At this insolence Titus was beside himself; now instead of generosity which they scorned, he would try what terror would do. Every night many half-starved wretches slunk out to dig up such roots and vegetables as they could find in the fields; he bade them be watched and seized. Every morning thereafter five hundred of these unfortunates, sometimes more, were hung up on crosses where they could be seen by the besieged. Nor did he cry a halt until wood and space were both lacking for the gibbets. An odious piece of barbarism this, whose sole effect was to exasperate the Jews and at the same time cast a grievous blot upon Titus' reputation. He needs must revert to the wear-

¹ "Templum in modum arcis, propriique muri, labore et opere ante alios; ipsa porticus, quis templum ambiebatur, egregium propugnaculum." Tacitus, *Histor.*, v. 12; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, v. v. 1-6.

² Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, v. ix. 1-4.

some labors of a siege and await such results as they might accomplish against these fortresses perched high above his grasp.¹

Two embankments were erected in front of Sion while two others were directed against Antonia. These works had cost seventeen days of hard labor, and seemed all but finished when of a sudden the earth and wood works which threatened Antonia collapsed amid a cloud of dust and smoke. John had succeeded in undermining the ground beneath and filling tunnels with sulphur and pitch ; at a signal the whole structure sunk down into a burning furnace. Two days later Simon's robber hordes threw themselves on the outworks erected against them, and put them to the torch, evincing such fury that the Romans, wrapped in flames, recoiled in terror and were forced to flee before their pursuers into their own camp lines. This double blow left Titus in a precarious situation, with his machines of war destroyed and his soldiers in their discouragement muttering among themselves that old cry of the Jews, "Jerusalem is impregnable." He must needs resign himself to continue the blockade and to wait for famine to do what he could not accomplish by assault.² Thereupon there arose that wall of ill-omen whereof Jesus had foretold them as He wept over the city : "The day shall come upon thee when thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee and encompass thee round on every side and overturn thee flat to the ground, — thee and thy children within thee ; because thou hast not known the time when God hath visited thee."³ The soldiers, everjoyed at entering upon a task from which they looked for sure and definite results, now evinced an almost unbelievable activity : "The hand of God was urging them on," says Josephus.⁴ In three days a wall of stone and earth thirty-nine stadia in length (a little over four miles) encircled Jerusalem. The circumvalla-

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, v. xi. 1.

² *Ibid.*, v. xi. 4-6; xii. 1.

³ Luke xix. 43-44.

⁴ Ὁρμή δέ τις ἐμπίπτει δαιμόνιος τοῖς στρατιώταις. Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, v. xii. 2.

tion traversed Bezetha and Kedron, ascended the Mount of Olives, and crowned its heights; numerous redoubts fortified it on this side, for a surprise on the part of the Zealots sallying forth from the fortresses of the Dead Sea was possible at any moment: against this it behooved them to be on their guard.¹

Thereafter, enclosed and hemmed in on all sides, Jerusalem was left a prey to that consuming fever which had reached the delirium point; and now famine came to add the last touch of horror. Such provisions as were left had fallen into the hands of the men in arms, and in vain did the throng beg for a handful of wheat or barley; not a kernel could they obtain, no, not even at the price of a fortune. Men fought for the skins of animals, a bit of leather from their buckles, nay, even for the dung of cattle. Even the sewers they madly searched for food. The fierce pangs of hunger had deadened every other natural feeling; husbands and wives, mothers and children snatched from one another the poorest scraps of food.²

The robbers and the Zealots alike looked calmly down upon the death throes of the people. Scanning the faces of each citizen to note whether some sign of strength might not betray a hidden stock of victuals, they proceeded to torture any such unfortunate until they had robbed the inhabitants of their very last resources. To this famine-stricken throng death came as a deliverance; and generously, at least, did death do its work. The houses were filled with corpses, the streets and squares strewn with them, for none were buried any more. According to the tale of a deserter, more than a hundred thousand bodies had been interred within the space of two months and a half.³ But now their arms were weakened by privation, nor had any one the money to pay for this pressing need; they were forced to throw their dead from the tops of the ramparts into the gorges overlooked

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, v. xii. 2.

² *Ibid.*, v. x. 2, 3.

³ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, v. xiii. 7.

by the Temple and Sion; there they lay heaped up, and putrefied in the sun. Chancing to pass by one of these charnel heaps, Titus showed himself most deeply moved; lifting his hands toward Heaven, he protested that these horrors were no doings of his.¹

Indeed he had left no stone unturned to prevent them; yet what means could be used to influence a city now under a reign of terror? Certain men, formerly leaders of the people, many of the High Priests, and among them Matthias, who had been the means of introducing Simon into Jerusalem, were suspected of favoring a capitulation: they were sentenced to be executed without respite or pity; the sole favor begged by Matthias, that of dying before his children, even this was refused him.² A blind belief had taken possession of these fanatics, namely, that God would never abandon His Temple. His arm alone would work prodigies in its defence. This faith, ardently propagated, so completely swayed their souls, that many who might have found safety in flight refused to depart. They were bent on remaining upon the Holy Mountain to behold the great miracle.³

But now Titus, his patience exhausted, finally persuaded his legionaries to resume labor on the approaches. No more wood was to be found within the outskirts of Jerusalem; to obtain it they had to go as far as ninety stadia from the town (about ten miles).⁴ Their eagerness to make an end of it all helped them to triumph over all obstacles; at the end of twenty-one days four embankments, mounted by war towers, overtopped the heights of Antonia. Once more did the Jews sally forth to set fire to these outworks, but this time, weak and famished as they were, they were repelled and forced to withstand the enemy's assaults at these points threatened. Their resistance lasted but for four days; on the fifth of July an unexpected night attack delivered Antonia into the hands of the Romans. Titus gave commands that this fortress

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, v. xii. 3-4.

² *Ibid.*, v. xiii. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, vi. ii. 1; v. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, v. xii. 4.

be razed almost to the ground in order to give free play to his machines of war, and thereby finally overcome that Temple where all that was left of life in Jerusalem now writhed in the throes of a last agony.¹

Here again Famine lent her helping hand: even the men-at-arms, their scanty store of provisions exhausted, raced hither and thither like dogs in pursuit of their quarry. A band of these fanatics scenting the odor of roasting meat, broke their way into the house whence it came. There they found themselves face to face with a once wealthy woman named Mary, daughter of Eleazar. This wretched creature had just finished cooking her child and was ravenously devouring her repast. Offering them what was left, she said: "Eat; it cannot be more repulsive to you than it is to its mother!" They recoiled in horror.²

The Romans, to whom this crime was reported, might well judge thereby to what extremities the town was reduced. About the same time another accident revealed their abject condition even more strikingly. On the twelfth of July the perpetual sacrifice ceased to be offered in the Temple, for lack of men, says Josephus, but more probably for lack of victims.³ No similar interruption had occurred save in the gloomiest days of their history, during the captivity in Babylon and the persecution of Antiochus. Great was the emotion that thrilled the hearts of the Jews, for with it was mingled a vague apprehension that their worship had ceased for all time. Nor was this presentiment unwarranted: never more was Israel destined to offer sacrifice upon the Holy Mount, and to this very day the chosen people set aside a solemn day of fasting and lamentation to commemorate this sad event.⁴

Titus took advantage of the impression produced in the Temple by this happening, to attempt once again to bring them to terms. By his orders Josephus, drawing near enough to be heard, cried out with a loud voice to the

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vi. i. 1-7.

² *Ibid.*, vi. iii. 3-4.

³ *Ibid.*, vi. ii. 1.

⁴ *Mishna, Taanith*, iv. 6.

Zealots that Titus offered a safe conduct to John, who might withdraw with all the men he saw fit to select; he promised furthermore to have the lawful sacrifices in the Temple, and to employ for this purpose such ministers as the Jews might designate. "We have naught to fear," replied John, "the Temple is the City of God."¹

Thus an assault was become inevitable; Titus bade them to make ready to storm the place, and on their side the Jews were busy making preparations. Resolved to concentrate the defence within the upper part of the Temple, they burned everything round about that might serve as a shield for the assailants; first, the gallery which connected the Sanctuary with Antonia, and thereafter the Porches of the first enclosure to the north and to westward. The Romans now masters of this wide-spreading esplanade, rolled thither their battering-rams, and the last act in this tragic war was begun. For five long days their most powerful machines battered away at the walls without making any impression upon them: the stones were of such huge dimensions, grooved and fitted together so firmly, that nothing could shake them. Their frequent attempts to scale the walls were equally fruitless; the ladders heavily weighted with soldiers were pushed away from the wall, and their human freight dashed to pieces on the pavement below. On the eighth of August, however, the Romans succeeded in setting fire to the lower part of the gate which separates the Court of the Gentiles from the higher part of the Temple. The silver and gold which covered the folding doors, ran down in rivulets of flame into the Inner Porches and thus spread conflagration. The Jews had never conceived the possibility of such a misfortune; now suddenly enveloped in fire, they stood rooted to the spot and allowed the porticos of the second enclosure to burn unchecked beneath their very eyes. These magnificent edifices were almost entirely consumed, when Titus gave the command to save what little was left of them.²

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vi. ii. 1.

² *Ibid.*, vi. iv. 1, 2.

The gates once burned, there was free access opened to the Temple; nevertheless, like a gaping wound it loomed before their gaze one whole day, nor did a single soul dare to cross that threshold. A superstitious terror held the legionaries back, habituated though they were to brave all danger. They hesitated in awe before a sanctuary wherein no profane person ever entered, or so folks said, save to meet death.¹ Still other apprehensions checked and disturbed their general; on the one hand, his anxiety to preserve a monument which Berenice, Agrippa, and Josephus had taught him to cherish and well-nigh worship; on the other hand was the thought that, in destroying the edifice to which the Jews and Christians alike were so deeply attached, he would be destroying at a single blow two superstitions which were disturbing the Empire.² Feeling that the question was too deep for him to solve, he called his staff officers together and deliberated with them whether it were better to burn the Temple or carry it by storm. Titus, according to Josephus, inclined to the latter opinion;³ while, according to Tacitus, he was anxious to destroy it altogether.⁴ However this may be, the resolution to preserve the sanctuary of Israel, even at the cost of a sanguinary struggle, prevailed, and they began anew the assault.

In this the Jews forestalled them, for on the morning of the tenth of August they essayed to sally forth in a body. Halted by the legionaries, who sustained the encounter with great energy, they kept up the hand-to-hand

¹ Dion Cassius, lxi. 6.

² Sulpicius Severus, *Chronicon*, ii. 30.

³ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vi. iv. 3.

⁴ "Nonnullis videbatur ædem sacram ultra omnia mortalia illustrem non oportere deleri . . . At contra alii, et Titus ipse, evertendum in primo templum censebant, quo plenius Judæorum et Christianorum religio tolleretur; quippe has religiones, licet contrarias sibi, iisdem tamen ab auctoribus profectas; Christianos ex Judæis extitisse: radice sublata, stirpem facile perituram." (Sulpicius Severus, *Chronicon*, ii. 30.) Professor Bernays, by his scholarly investigation, has left no doubt about the fact that here, as elsewhere, Sulpicius Severus is simply following in the lead of Tacitus, and that we may regard this passage as another extract made from a part of the "History" now lost to us. (*Ueber die Chronik des Sulpicius Severus*, pp. 48-61.) Cf. Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, i. 399.

struggle all day long, nor yielded a foot of ground until trampled by the cavalry, which had been brought up on the esplanade and succeeded in sweeping all before it. At nightfall Titus retired to his tent believing the battle over; but despair rendered the Zealots tireless. After a few moments' rest, new streams of the besieged fell suddenly upon the Romans; this time they were repulsed with such vigor that the enemy entered pell-mell upon their heels right into the porches of the Israelites, and pursued them to the very gates of the Sanctuary. There a soldier, acting without orders, but as if inspired by God,¹ seized a beam which was still burning in the porches set on fire two days before, and aided by one of his comrades, hurled it into the chambers which surrounded the Holy Place; in a few instants these wooden halls shot up in flames and the Temple was burning. The Jews uttered a shriek of horror at this spectacle. Titus hastened up and by word and gesture he bade them extinguish the conflagration, but his voice was lost in the tumult. The soldiers, the first steps once taken within the Sanctuary, had shaken off their fears; dazzled by the gold that glittered on all sides, they thought of nothing but their booty. Titus was swept aside by this throng, too greedy for their prey to see or heed aught else, and he was fain to proceed with some of his officers into the Sanctuary as yet left intact; here he stopped to gaze about for an instant, then entered into the Holy of Holies. The majesty of the place surpassed all his expectations, it moved him so deeply that he rushed forth at once, resolved at any cost to save such a marvel of beauty. But while repelling the pillagers and exhausting himself with crying out to his men to quench the flames, one of his own soldiers who had lingered behind him, set fire to the interior. The smoke and fiery tongues were now spreading on every hand. Titus realized that the Temple's doom was sealed, and he withdrew.²

¹ Δαμονίῳ ὁρμῇ τινι χρώμενος. Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vi. iv. 5.

² Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vi. iv. 3-7.

The conflagration, sweeping on thenceforth unhindered, speedily converted the crest of Mount Moriah into a fearsome brazier: it seemed as if the mountain would burn to its very base. From Sion and the neighboring heights, the Jews gazed, eating their hearts out with rage at the annihilation of their last hope. Cries of agony and execration rose from this throng and mingled with the ringing shouts of the legionaries and the shrieks of the slaughtered. So tremendous was the clamor at that dread hour that it was heard over beyond Jordan.¹ Nevertheless, the flames did not put a stop to the carnage. Now drunk with bloodshed, walking on a pavement carpeted with corpses, the Romans killed every one that came in their path. The majority of the Jews, let it be said, in their madness and desperation, sought death of their own will; some throwing themselves upon the swords of the legionaries, others flinging themselves into the flames, or killing one another. Certain priests, having climbed the pinnacle of the Temple, wrenched off the golden points, with their fastenings of lead, and hurled them down upon the assailants; but soon they too disappeared in the flames. One little band of Zealots alone, rallied together by John of Giscala, succeeded in breaking through the Roman ranks and rejoined Simon by means of the bridge which connected Sion with the Temple. The rest of the children of Israel, whom the expectation of a great miracle had massed together on Mount Moriah, was now lost beyond peradventure. Six thousand of these unfortunates, for the most part old folk, with women and children, had taken refuge beneath one of the porches; these were put to the torch and all perished.² When the flames died down there remained on the Holy Mount but two blackened gates and the ruins of the enclosure reserved for women. The legions collected together their Eagles, and amid the smoking débris offered sacrifice of thanksgiving to these idolatrous emblems.³ At this

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vi. v. 1.

³ *Ibid.* vi. vi. 1.

² *Ibid.*, vi. v. 1-2.

crowning insult the Jews' eyes were opened. That "abomination of desolation"¹ begun by the Zealots was now accomplished before their very eyes. The God whom they had misprized had forsaken the Holy Place; where howsoever long He had willed that men should adore Him, He now rejected them and their worship.

The task of the conquerors was not, however, finished; it remained for them to carry the real citadel of Jerusalem, ancient Sion. The ramparts of this Upper City still stood intact; the most fanatical of the insurgents had gathered there and at their head were John and Simon, who had joined forces for a supreme struggle. And, nevertheless, when the moment for action arrived the two leaders hesitated; realizing how exhausted their men were, they asked the Roman general for a parley. They offered to evacuate the stronghold provided that they were allowed to withdraw into the desert, together with their wives and children. Titus had intended simply to pardon them; but angry that they should dare to impose conditions, he cut short the interview, declaring that nothing was left them but death.²

Thus he must needs begin a new siege, one no less laborious than those preceding it. For in Sion, in itself so formidable, the Jews held possession of a stronghold fitted to withstand all attacks; this was the Palace of Herod, flanked by its three enormous towers, Hippicus, Phasaël, and Mariamne. For eighteen days the four legions were occupied in erecting embankments against the western wall contiguous to this Palace. On the seventh of September, their labors completed, the machines of war were set battering at the ramparts and soon made a breach. To their great surprise, the legions met with no resistance upon their entrance. Famine and fever had done their work in enfeebling the defenders; half dead, they had but enough breath left in their emaciated bodies to flee in every direction and bury themselves in the underground cavities over which Jerusalem

¹ Matt. xxiv. 15.

² Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vi. vi. 2, 3.

is built. All day long the Romans rushed about through the narrow streets of Sion, looting, slaying, and burning everything in their path, but from many of the dwellings whence they expected to reap rich booty, they were forced to recoil, suffocated by the stench of corpses with which they were filled. Night put an end to the carnage and gave the flames full sway to complete the work of destruction. When Titus arrived upon the blazing hill-top and beheld intact those towers of Herod which no machine of war could ever have impaired, this last victory of his, easy as it was, seemed to him a miracle, and he gave thanks unto the God who had fought for him.¹

The following days were employed in ransacking the sewers and underground passages of the city, whence they dragged many thousand new captives, discovering two immense treasures which, when added to the booty gathered from the rest of Jerusalem, formed such a mass of gold that the price of that metal fell by one-half throughout Syria. Titus' share of the spoils comprised the sacred objects saved from the Sanctuary of the Temple: the Veil of the Holy of Holies, the Book of the Law, the Table of the Bread of Proposition, and the Seven-Branded Candlestick; these he set aside to be used in his triumph. Beside these trophies, an enormous number of prisoners remained in his hands; Josephus reckons them as being about ninety-seven thousand. This throng, driven toward the Temple, were there herded together like cattle within a part of the enclosure still standing, and there the soldiers, like cowboys of the plains, rushed in and cut them out. All such as had borne arms were slaughtered; the only ones spared were seven hundred young men of fine figure and exceptional beauty, who were destined to lend lustre to the triumph of the conqueror. As to the others, those who were less than seventeen years of age were sold; the rest were reserved for the mines or the amphitheatre. Such was the exhausted condition of these captives that during the few days de-

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vi. viii. 1, 4, 5; ix. 1.

voted to this work of selection thousands of them died from weakness, others from despair.¹

The two leaders of the rebellion were not among the number of these unfortunates, and they were searched for in vain. John of Giscala was the first whom hunger constrained to reveal himself; he gave himself up to Titus, who spared his life and was content merely to imprison him.² Simon had a larger stock of victuals at his disposal; it was only toward the end of October that the soldiers who guarded the Temple saw rising out of the ground a creature wasted to a skeleton, covered with a white tunic and purple mantle. It was Simon, who, his provisions and his strength alike exhausted, was attempting to pass through their lines in the guise of a ghost. He was arrested, speedily recognized, and despatched to Cæsarea to be left at the disposal of Titus.³

For at this period the Prince, having left Jerusalem, was making his progress through Syria in celebration of his victory. The prisoners he had in his train formed an ample stock to draw from for the cruel sports of the circus. In the amphitheatre at Cæsarea-Philippi two thousand five hundred were burned alive, thrown before wild beasts, or forced to kill one another. At Beyrout there was a similar massacre. After this fashion the conqueror marched on as far as Antioch and the Euphrates, everywhere acclaimed.⁴ Turning back towards Egypt, he called a halt on the way and expressed a desire to see Jerusalem again. The destruction ordered by him was accomplished. Of all that city whose haughty beauty had dazzled his eyes only six months previous, a city so mighty in armed men and good as to be able to defy Rome,—of all this wonder of the world there remained but a heap of ruins. The Tenth Legion pitched their camp on the littered site of the Temple. On the summit of Mount Sion, Herod's three towers, respected by his commands, still stood as witnesses to the obstacles he

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vi. ix. 2-4.

² *Ibid.*, vi. ix. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, vii. ii. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vii. ii.; iii. 1; v. 1, 2.

had triumphed over: some walls of buildings were likewise left along the spur of this hill, and among them the Cenaculum,¹ where Jesus had substituted for the Mosaic Ritual a worship in spirit and in truth, the Eternal Sacrifice, the Eucharist.

The other quarters of Jerusalem, Bezetha, Acra, and Ophel, had disappeared entirely, and a similar state of devastation reigned for more than five miles roundabout. The outskirts of Jerusalem, where once luxuriant gardens gladdened the eye, had been turned into a waste of rocks and rubbish such as it is to-day. Touched to the heart, Titus wept over the unfortunate town, and cursed those madmen who had forced him thus to spread havoc about their own hearthstones. Even the fame he had won from this war seemed to him now an oppressive burden; to those who lavished congratulations upon him, he was wont to reply, "'T was not I that conquered. God in His wrath against these Jews made use of my arm." ²

These sentiments which Pagans and Jews alike ascribe to Titus, in no wise altered his determination to make a triumphal entry into Rome. Vespasian's stern simplicity was not at all to his taste; his son's enthusiasm swept away all his objections and forced him to consent to surround the ceremony with a pomp exceeding anything ever known hitherto. To the fascinated gaze of Josephus the procession appeared like a scintillating stream of gold and silver and ivory and precious stones pouring in waves of color along the Via Sacra. All the marvels of the Orient found their place in this gorgeous display, costly tapestries, rare animals magnificently caparisoned, everything in fact, which art and nature had combined to produce in those foreign parts. Great scaffoldings, three or four stories high, were dragged along in front of the onlookers, displaying for their benefit the various episodes of the great war in a series of tableaux. Thereafter, as living trophies, marched the picked men among the captives,

¹ St. Epiphanius, *De mensuris*, 14.

² Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vii. v. 2; Philostratus, vi. 29.

those seven hundred youths, the most splendid specimens of the Jewish race, whom he had kept in reserve for this pageant; at their head stalked Simon-ben-Gioras, the hangman's noose about his neck; by this they led him along to death, scourging him at every step. Vespasian and Titus in their triumphal chariot brought up the rear, but before them were carried all that truly symbolized the victory won in this war, — the Book of the Law and the sacred spoils snatched from the burning Temple, the Table of Gold, the Seven-Branched Candlestick, and the Veil of Purple from the Holy of Holies.¹ According to ancient usage, the procession halted at the foot of the Capitol, and Simon was dragged into the Mamertine prison, flung into the Tullianum dungeon, then strangled. After but a few moments a messenger announced to the Cæsars that the enemy of Rome was no more: there-upon sacrifices were offered and the day ended in merry-making.²

To Vespasian all this parade had been but as a weariness to the flesh and a waste of time;³ to Titus it was the triumph of his life to have obtained his father's permission for it; in it he saw at once the reflex of his glory and an assurance that henceforth the Empire was bound to remain in the hands of his family. Neither one of them had the least idea that in the designs of God their triumph was but the crowning and the consecration of that great work to the accomplishment of which, for now forty years, so many lowly martyrs had toiled, first among them Peter and Paul with their brethren in the Apostolate. This Law against which Paul had waged a tireless warfare, uttering that famous rebuke, that, though good in itself as it was, it did but beget "the wrath of God, sin and death,"⁴ — this same Law the Ro-

¹ The arch of Titus in the Forum preserves to this day the memory of his triumphal progress, as well as a picture of the various tokens borne before him: the Table of Gold, the Seven-Branched Candlestick, the Censers, and the Silver Trumpets.

² Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vii. v. 3-6. ⁴ Rom. iv. 15; viii. 2; vii. 6.

³ Suetonius, *Vespasianus*, 12.

mans were displaying in their pageants, as now powerless and enslaved, in that Book which they carried along the triumphal way. The trophies taken from the Temple bore witness, on their part, to the worth of the whole Mosaic worship: these, "the shadows and figures of heavenly"¹ realities had given place to the Eternal Priesthood, an undying Sacrifice. Thus, then, was all Jerusalem abolished, — "that Jerusalem here below doomed, she and her children alike unto bondage."² In her stead had arisen that mystical "Sion"³ greeted from afar by the Apostle to the Gentiles, "a Jerusalem on High, altogether of the Heavens."⁴ In the new order of things Rome was destined to take the place of the Jewish metropolis in the olden Covenant; she was to become the Queen City and the Mother, not of a race, but of the whole world. All this glory, destined to wax greater, and to the end of time, — all this she owed, not to the Flavian Emperors, but to the two humble Apostles whom Jesus sent thither to die among her people, that thus Peter should take in hand Paul's work, and remain forevermore that steadfast foundation which not even the powers of Hell shall prevail against.⁵

¹ Hebr. viii. 5.

³ Hebr. xii. 22.

² Gal. iv. 25.

⁴ Gal. iv. 26; Hebr. xii. 22.

⁵ "Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build My Church; and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it." Matt. xvi. 18.

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